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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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A. F. OF L. CONVENTION

COMPERS ON THE I. W. W.—JURISDICTION DECISIONS DON'T GO—
MOSSES LECTURES PURE AND SIMPLEDOM—TAINTED MONEY
—“BORING FROM WITHIN”.

First Day's Session.

(Special correspondence.)

Pittsburg, Nov. 13.—The A. F. of L. convention met in Old City Hall to-day at 10.30 a. m. The hall was decorated in patriotic colors intertwined with the colors of Pittsburg.

C. G. Douglass, president of the Iron City Trades Council, made the opening address, the only thing of importance being the assertion that Pittsburg was not as well organized as some other cities, and gave as the reason that Pittsburg had received some very hard knocks lately, and asked the aid of the A. F. of L. They will probably get it, like the machinists got it, when on strike at East Pittsburg at the Westinghouse, when Gompers threw them down.

After the band played "America," with the convention standing, Gompers said he had the honor to present Mr. John Drew as the representative of Mayor Hays of Pittsburg.

Mr. Drew then proceeded to pour out the same bilge water that has been handed to the pure and simple unionist for the last two decades, as follows:

Union labor was the moral force of the nation; to it all progress is due; it abolished child labor, got safety appliances on railroads, dispels ignorance, gets higher pay, ending the slums, and is going forward year after year from victory to victory; in fact it was the representative of Christian brotherhood. (Such was demonstrated by the proceedings a short time after in jurisdictional disputes.)

The speaker concluded by handing over the keys of the city.

In receiving the keys of the city, Gompers said the speaker's remarks were an epitome of truth and wisdom, and went on to prepare the workers for indefinitely receiving the dose they have been receiving in the past, by quoting President Roosevelt as saying: "There must always be a labor problem, as there must always be trouble where labor is," and Gompers said further that organized labor was the conservator of public peace in these troubles.

Further, he said, organized labor up-lifts not only members, but non-members of labor organization by their every move; and he wound up with an eulogy of Pittsburg smoke and "Hats off to the wealth producers of Pittsburg."

The convention was then called to order for business, which began with the credential committee's report.

The report of the president of the A. F. of L. was a lengthy document. Three hours and fifteen minutes were consumed in reading it. It touched quite a number of subjects: Citizens' Alliance, Canada, Porto Rico, high dues, I. W. W., jurisdiction, eight-hour day, textile workers, union label, Western Federation of Miners, Chinese Exclusion Act, anti-injunction, Panama Canal, tuberculosis and labor press.

Secretary Morrison made his report in brief to the convention, and was followed with a treasurer's report, by John B. Lennon.

Wm. Mosses, of Leeds, England, and David Gilmore, of Hamilton, England, were fraternal delegates from the British Trades Congress; and Wm. Todd, fraternal delegate from the Trade and Labor Congress of Canada.

President Gompers realized he will be up against it in the future in the I. W. W. He made a bitter attack on the Chicago convention. Said it advocated physical force and confiscation of property. Didn't want something now but some time in future, and was brought into existence by incompetents and diletants, or else in league with capitalists; and that industrial organization was suicidal and reactionary.

He also made an attack on the Western Federation of Miners and President Moyer, intimating that Moyer had spent thousands of dollars financing the I. W. W. that had been raised by the A. F. of L. for the legal defense of the metaliferous miners, and demanded an accounting from Moyer. (He'll get it.) In his passage on jurisdictional quarrels, Gompers said that they, the A. F. of L., must protect the fair-minded employer from being made a scapegoat between the quarrelling organizations.

When discussing the beneficial feature of unions, he said that enemies of unionism denied that these were the functions of a union, and made the statement

that the functions of a union were without limit. (It will be noticed that he used the word union when making this statement and did not use the word labor movement.)

A feature of the convention was Victor L. Berger hastening to shake the hand of Gompers.

Second Day's Session.

Pittsburg, Nov. 14.—The morning session of the A. F. of L. was called to order by John Mitchell, of the Mine Workers, and the report of the Executive Council of the A. F. of L. was read by First Vice President Duncan, and recommendations made on the various questions referred to. It recommended assistance to the Typographical Union in its fight for an eight hour day. Also enforcing present, and securing further legislation on the child labor subject.

In the matter of jurisdiction, the report stated that the rulings of the A. F. of L. Executive Council, had been generally disregarded, notwithstanding the fact that the most of the time of the Council had been taken up with that question.

The Brewery Workers, Engineers' and Firemen's dispute being past the ability of the Executive Council to handle in any way, they passed the whole matter up to Adolph Strasser to investigate and report on, the result being that Strasser found them all of a kind and advised taking the charter from all three. This the Executive refused to do, and made an arbitration proposition, which was accepted by the Engineers and Firemen, and refused by the Brewery Workers. The matter is now referred to the convention.

The question of jurisdiction between the Amalgamated Wood Workers and the Brotherhood of Carpenters and Joiners was referred to the convention, both organizations refusing any proposition to settle difficulties.

Then came the beauty spot, "No politics in the Union." The Executive Council recommends the A. F. of L. to try to secure the Initiative and Referendum, also the extension of the system of questioning political candidates on their attitude on union labor. Also to advocate equal suffrage, and the teaching of self-government in the public schools, under the supervision of the principal.

Verily there are "no politics" in the A. F. of L.

The fraternal delegate to the British Trade Congress reports that there is a strong feeling in England for centralized political and economic action. Also that he took tea with the Countess Warwick—the "Babbling Brook"—and dined with the Mayor of Staffordshire.

The fraternal delegate to the Canada Trade and Labor Congress, reported the Miners of Canada winning the eight hour day. Also that the Dominion Parliament is defeating labor legislation. Both fraternal delegates say that legislative bodies in both countries are like legislative bodies here.

Third Day's Session.

Pittsburg, Nov. 15.—The A. F. of L. convention was called to order by first vice-president Duncan, but remained in session only a short time for the introduction of eleven resolutions, and then adjourned till 2 p. m.

The Seaman's Union seems to be up against it in great shape, putting in three of the eleven resolutions submitted this morning, demanding congressional legislation; one of them demanding a law against ship owners offering a reward for escaped seamen.

Past experience counts for naught. The legislative bait is still held up to catch the easy gudgeons who forget or don't know that all legislation passed by capitalist political parties is rendered impotent as soon as it is used in the interest of labor.

The usual spread of "borers from within" from the so-called Socialist party are here to get the usual dose: Berger, Barnes, and "Mamie" Hayes, of Cleveland; as is also their supposed antithesis, David Goldstein, of Waltham, Mass., whose childless fatherhood efforts, in conjunction with the childless motherhood efforts of the Vestal Martha Moore Avery, and both inspired by the equally childless fatherhood efforts of modern multifidom, labored and brought into existence

(Continued on page 6.)

I. W. W. ACTIVITY

A. F. OF L. CLOAKMAKERS HEAR ITS PRINCIPLES EXPOUNDED—O'CONNELL'S FEARS—GROWTH IN BRONX—
IRON, TOBACCO AND SILK WORKERS PUSH ORGANIZATION—FAKIRS FRIGHTENED.

The mass meeting called by Cloak and Suit Tailors' Union No. 9, A. F. of L., Monday night, at Grand American Hall, 7-9 Second avenue, to introduce the aims and principles of the Industrial Workers of the World to the numbers of workmen employed in the cloak-making industry, was a success from every point of view.

Chairman Kirschbaum called the meeting to order and made a brief speech in Jewish, explaining the reason for the meeting, and how exponents of Industrialism camp to be invited to address an A. F. of L. local. He said the cloak-makers had seen so much of A. F. of L. treachery and had so often been led to defeat by the A. F. of L. misleaders, that they had realized that their salvation lay in cutting loose from that body and joining the I. W. W. which so planned its organization as to effectively meet the combinations of capital. He pointed out that the I. W. W. was the coming labor movement. Even the capitalist press, though violently opposed to it, had described the Chicago Convention as "the critical point in American Labor Unionism." Chairman Kirschbaum said: "The claim has often been made that though the I. W. W. is a good sound organization, it is too previous. The time will not be ripe for it for fifty years to come." In answer, he showed that if the ground were not ready for the I. W. W. it would not now be in existence, and the very fact that it had been launched proved the timeliness of the act.

The chairman then introduced President Charles O. Sherman, of the I. W. W. President Sherman started out by showing the dependence of every trade upon every other. The old trades unionism flattered each craft, telling it that it was THE craft in the industry, thus setting barriers of pride between brother and brother. But in fact, no trade can consider its own uplifting exclusively because each trade depends for the market for its goods (and consequently its own employment) upon the workers of all other trades. Unless the workers in the other trades are in condition to buy the produce of the one trade, the manufacturers in that trade would have to slack work, and the workers would be thrown on the streets.

The speaker next showed how American capitalism has been concentrating and centralizing against labor, while all the time labor, under A. F. of L. guidance, had not changed its organization to meet the new modes of attack on it. In proof of his statement, the President referred to various A. F. of L. constitutions, showing that they are now almost identical with those of ten years back.

After outlining the salient features of the I. W. W., and expressing the hope that he would soon be able to reckon his audience among the men in his ranks, President Sherman gave way to the next speaker, Daniel De Leon.

After De Leon, Chaiken addressed the meeting in Jewish, making a special appeal to the cloakmakers to profit by the facts laid before them by the previous speakers, and to line up in the ranks of the only bona fide labor union in existence, the Industrial Workers of the World. His words were greeted with hurrahs, amid which the meeting adjourned.

GROWTH IN BRONX.

Tuesday Nov. 14.—The Bronx Borough Labor Union, (formerly Mixed Alliance 140) I. U. 179, I. W. W. held an interesting and successful open meeting at 150 East 125th street with the object of recruiting steam railroad employes preparatory to later establishing a Local Union of the branch of the Transportation Department. The hall was crowded and the success of the meeting is proved by the fact that twenty-four new members were admitted before adjournment.

After President Crawford called the meeting to order, the regular business of the Local was gone through with as much expedition as possible. One of the progressive things done was the election of a committee on literature whose duty shall be to provide proper literature for the education of the members. In this connection the committee was instructed to secure some copies of "Ragione Nuova", and in writing to suggest to its editors to use as much I. W. W. matter as possible, so that the paper can be

used for propaganda among Italian workers. It was also decided to make the Daily and Weekly People the official organ of the Local. The delegates to the Industrial Council reported that there was a large attendance at last meeting and considerable discussion was had during the adoption of a constitution and by-laws, particularly over a clause in the latter providing for the holding of open meetings when deemed necessary, at which questions social, political and economic are to be discussed. The Secretary of the Council, it was stated, was instructed to publish notices of the Council's meetings and the list of Locals and their meeting places in the Daily and Weekly People and any other papers which would publish them.

Local business finished, President Crawford called upon Sam. J. French to address the meeting in English. French described the origin, principles and methods of organization of the Industrial Workers of the world and explained its superiority over the old style of trades unionism. Luigi Delavia, of West Hoboken who was to have spoken in Italian, having been unable to get there, Comrade Santors, of the Bronx, took up the subject for the benefit of the Italians present, and in a very pleasing and convincing manner translated the arguments of Comrade French with good effect, and with the result that all the Italians present became members of the Local before leaving.

Everyone was well satisfied with the night's work and as all but one of the twenty-four new members admitted are steam railway workers, plans were made at once to hold a mass meeting next week in the lower Bronx for the workers in that line for the purpose of forming a Local Union. A committee was elected to secure a hall and arrangements will be made to have present E. J. Roselle, Organizer of the Transportation Department, August Gillhans, and other English speakers and Delavia and Santors to speak in Italian. A good beginning has been made and the Bronx comrades are confident of success.

O'CONNELL FEARS I. W. W.

Pittsburg, Pa., Nov. 20.—A committee of the I. W. W. attended a mass meeting at the Old City Hall, held under the auspices of the International Machinists' Union, yesterday, and heard a Mr. J. J. O'Connell, the President of the I. A. of M., declare that we, the members of the I. W. W., are in the employ of the capitalist class, for the express purpose of disrupting his organization. But he failed to give proof when demanded. We hereby challenge Mr. J. J. O'Connell to prove his allegations that we the members of the I. W. W. are hirelings of capitalism; also to publicly debate the fact that his organization and the A. F. of L. are antiquated affairs, and lack the stability for fighting the battles of the working class. O'Connell's craft as it is organized at present, is impotent and we the members of the I. W. W. will prove this statement and produce the evidence that the "labor leaders" of the old line trade unions have up to date robbed the treasuries and misled the members of the working class, as evidenced by the public press, contributed by the members of their respective unions. E. R. Markley.

1020 Main street, Braddock, Pa.

ST. LOUIS FAKIRS FRIGHTENED.—St. Louis, Nov. 19.—The labor fakirs here are trembling. The outlook for the I. W. W. is so good that they are scheming to head it off and trap the unwary. They have caused a leaflet containing the following to be circulated:

"A forward movement (one of the greatest achievements for organized labor and honest business men) has been accomplished in the amalgamation of the two parent bodies of organized labor in East St. Louis, Ills. The greatest event in the history of Union organized labor is hereby recorded. A great movement heralding the securing of freedom for the great masses to amalgamate all elements or classes to work in concerted action to secure the liberties of the rising generation and oppose in a body the trusts and monopolistic systems inaugurated by the Grafters to perpetuate and protect their selfish extortions that are destined to make wage slaves and tramps of the masses.

"This great achievement has been accomplished by the united efforts of the untiring workers in the cause of human-

ity, assisted by their co-workers, and with such unselfish and proven leaders whose whole life has been devoted to this humanitarian work cannot help but be crowned with success:

"W. W. Harris, C. Palmer, W. S. De Vaux, Curtis, Craig, Matlock, Smith, Wade, Howell, Elliot, I. J. Bauer, Snelder, McGrath, J. Williams and many others representing the different crafts are working for the amalgamation of all crafts, which will extend from coast to coast."

The last named are officers of the much divided A. F. of L. Their scheme will fail of success, as the workers are all pretty well on to them, thanks to the agitation of the I. W. W.

IRON AND TOBACCO MEN ACTIVE.

Braddock, Pa., Nov. 17.—The Braddock Branch of the Steel and Iron Workers, I. W. W., met this evening and took in five new members. Meeting was a large and interesting one, and was held in the old hall, as the new one, called Sherman Hall, and located at 224 11th street, was not yet finished, being located in a new building. We will meet there, however, on Tuesday, Nov. 28, our next meeting night.

The Branch has appointed a committee to draw up resolutions challenging the A. F. of L. to debate the following proposition, viz., "The A. F. of L. is a reactionary labor organization, useless and burdensome to the working class."

Another committee was appointed to visit the local of the "Socialist" party of Allegheny County, with reference to having its members join the I. W. W., it having been reported that the local was ready to do so.

President Markley spoke of the very bright prospects there are of organizing the whole Mahoning Valley, including New Castle, Sharon, Niles, Youngstown and Akron. The branch appointed a committee to recommend President Markley to General Secretary Wm. E. Trautmann as organizer for Pittsburg and other iron and steel centers. Markley is an indefatigable worker for the I. W. W. He has been a member of pure and simple unions and is therefore experienced. He has been blacklisted in the iron mills around here for his I. W. W. activity.

Twenty tobie workers will start an I. W. W. local soon in Allegheny City. The Pittsburg Tobacco Workers are working very hard for the I. W. W. in their industry.

Any person seeking information regarding the I. W. W. in Pittsburg and vicinity, are requested to call evenings and Sundays at 2109 Sarrah street, S. Side, Pittsburg, Pa.

PATERSON I. W. W. MASS MEETING.

A Broadbilk Weavers' mass meeting will be held at Helvetia Hall, top floor, on Monday evening, Nov. 27th, at 8 o'clock sharp, under the auspices of the Industrial Workers of the World. Prominent speakers will address the meeting.

This meeting of the Broadbilk Weavers is to explain the principles of Industrial Unionism, and to organize the Broadbilk Weavers of this city as our comrades in the other branches of the silk industry are doing.

Fellow workers, organization is the only hope of the wage worker! Without it we must go down to the level of the cheapest worker in the world. Seats reserved for ladies.

MILWAUKEE I. W. W.

The Industrial Workers of the World of Milwaukee, meet on the first and third Friday of every month at Weingart's Hall, 302 Fourth street.

Beginning with the first Sunday in November they have arranged a series of regular Sunday evening lectures, which are held at Lipp's Hall, corner of Third and Prairie streets, third floor. All readers of the Party Press are kindly invited to attend all of these meetings and lectures.

PHILIP VEAL'S DATES.

Philadelphia, Pa., November 23-25. Baltimore, Md., November 26-27. Washington, D. C., November 28-30. Portsmouth, Va., and vicinity, December 1, etc.

A THANKSGIVING PROCLAMATION

YE PROLETARIAT, HEAR YE! HEAR YE!! COME FORTH FROM YOUR
HOVELS AND HOMES, THE MILLS AND THE MINES,
TO REJOICE O'ER YOUR PROSPERITY.

To the Wage Slaves of the United States:

Whether your work consist in slaving for a boss or tramping the streets and highways in search of one, you are hereby commanded to rest from your labors on November 30. That day has been officially set aside for prayer, thanksgiving and general rejoicing. It is an ancient custom and worthy of perpetuation—indeed! And you have been ordered to participate in the ceremonies. To attend religious services, and offer up heartfelt prayers of thanks for being merely permitted to exist, is the wish of those who live by exploiting your labor.

Our president and governors gallantly assure you in their thanksgiving proclamations that you have enjoyed wonderful prosperity during the past year, and since this is the case it follows that, unless you are careless in the matter, or disrespectful to your rulers, you will carry out their orders with prayer, and all other observances suited to the occasion.

Nevertheless, some of you may, in an unguarded moment, fly in the face of these statements and say that you have nothing to be thankful for and absolutely refuse to participate in the ceremonies. Go, you ingrates, and celebrate the day with a vim. It is not necessary that you go to church for this purpose, you may offer up devotions in your OWN homes. Yes, you who are fortunate enough to have the shelter of a roof, although you may have a dispossession in your pocket, are included in this category.

And you whose husband, father or brother were slaughtered by capitalism in mines, factories, tunnels and on railroads—and there are a large number of you to mourn the loss of those bread winners—get you ready and join in the thanksgiving festival.

You, whose unions have been battered to pieces, your wages reduced, your members enjoined, and the cost of your living sent soaring skyward, rejoice ye also as commanded, on this occasion.

And you, parents of the hundreds of thousands of babies slaughtered by poisoned milk and other adulterated foods, your tears and sorrowing hearts must not prevent you joining in a thanksgiving hymn, and of making a pretense at merriment on this occasion.

And you eighteen thousand deserted wives of Chicago, and a proportionate number in other cities, whose husbands, deprived of the means of livelihood, rather than watch you and the little ones slowly starve to death fled from the horrible scenes and became wanderers and perhaps suicides, you, on this grand occasion, must forget your troubles and enter the list of fetich worshippers.

Custom is a hard thing to break with especially when connected with religious ceremonies, but a long involuntary fast completes the job when all other methods fail, and this has been proven in many sad instances during the past year. Let those of us who can, not forget to fittingly observe Thanksgiving Day. The way to do this is to spread the glad tidings of Socialism. And to spread it we must have a press. Therefore to observe Thanksgiving Day appropriately attend the Daily People Festival and make possible greater things for and via Socialism.

Your fellow

Proletarian.

Done in New York, on this, the 17th day of November.

FESTIVAL NEWS

Committee in Charge Announces Program
The Entertainment Committee of Section New York County, Socialist Labor Party, is pleased to announce that they have secured the following excellent array of professional talent for the vaudeville program to be given on Thursday, November 30 (Thanksgiving Day), at Grand Central Palace.

VAUDEVILLE PROGRAM.

(Commencing at 3 P. M.)

1. Baily and Austin, formerly Baily and Madison.
2. De Veaux and De Veaux, Comedy Musical Artists.
3. Tascot, The White Coon.
4. Gourley, Sully and Gourley, European Comedy Acrobats.

Agents sending in subscriptions without remittance must state distinctly how long they are to run.

Agents are personally charged with and held responsible for unpaid subscriptions sent in by them.

5. Greg Patti, The Little Comedian.
6. Illustrated Songs, Mr. Burnham.
7. The Six Dixie Serenaders, Plantation Follies.
8. Youna, The American Jap
9. Moving Pictures.

An I. W. W. band will furnish the music for the dancing. The restaurant will be under the management of the Ladies' Auxiliary as in past seasons.

ORGANIZER KEPT BUSY.

Receiving Presents for Festival—Like Oliver Twist He Wants More.

The organizer of Section New York County, S. L. P., L. Abelson, is being kept busy these days receiving presents for the Bazaar and Fair to be held on Thanksgiving Day at Grand Central Palace.

The presents received since the last acknowledgment are as follows: A. Friedrichs, Brooklyn, N. Y., fine razor; H. Nitzlader, city, five books; I. Span, city, box of fine Havana filler cigars; J. Slonimsky, city, box of fine perfumed soap, bottle of cologne, nail brush, two bottles of tooth powder; S. Moskowit, city, twenty-one fine etchings; George Abelson, city, two boxes of fancy stationery, book, two fancy flower holders, sugar bowl, two glass pitchers, fruit dish, and two fine ornaments; H. Hermansen, city, twelve fine neckties, six neck laces, six fancy pins, five boxes of writing paper, three hand bags and three bottles of cologne; F. H. Nagler, Springfield, Mass., box of fine cigars; Mrs. George H. Rose, Stamford, Conn., elegant assortment of presents.

A. Weinstock, city, elegant couch covered in figure of valour; W. Garrity, Akron, O., barrel of stoneware; J. Marks, Brooklyn, N. Y., two fine ladies' leather bags; M. D. Fitzgerald, Boston, Mass., copies of poems; Mrs. R. M. McCall, city, two fine ornamented ladies. A. Kruse, Los Angeles, Cal., bound copy of Eugene Sue's "The Pilgrim's Shell;" Carl Held, City, five fine novelty match boxes; Mrs. R. Katz, city, handsome crocheted shawl; from the former Progressive Litho. Alliance, 7 pencil, black and white, and water color sketches; F. Pandorf, Hoboken, N. J., one nickel self-heating flat iron with fluting attachment; Emil Mueller, Brooklyn, N. Y., fine shaving cup, fancy basket, 10 bouquets of artificial flowers, two flower vases, fancy ink stand, and half dozen fine souvenirs; Mrs. F. Braukman, Pleasantville, N. Y., 6 elegant scrap baskets, 3 fine work bags, 3 handsome sofa cushions, 3 mouchoir cases, 6 pin cushions; Mrs. L. Ballhaus, city, handsome sofa pillow, fancy cup and saucer, 3 fine small articles.

There is no doubt that, as in past years, as the day of the Festival draws near the list of present received will be greatly extended. Comrades, friends and sympathizers should not encourage this delay, however. Send in presents as quickly as possible, in order that the committee may properly appraise and classify them.

PRESENTS AND DONATIONS.

Received by Brooklyn Ladies' Auxiliary

The following presents and cash donations were received by the Independent Ladies' Auxiliary of Brooklyn, for its stand at the Daily People Thanksgiving Festival:

An eider-down kimona, made by Mrs. Eskin; artistic sofa pillow and fancy laundry bag, embroidered by Mrs. Fisher; costly lawn silk waist, made by Miss Sophie Roslin; fancy scarf, made by Miss Gussie Kaplan; Mrs. Spector made and presented a handsome baby jacket; Mrs. Feinstein, a fine crocheted babyhood; Mrs. Rothenburg, an elegant little girl's dress; Miss Zuseman, a nice flannel kimona; Mrs. Yedlin, an elegant pin cushion; Independent Ladies' Auxiliary, jointly, four elegant tapestry sofa pillows; Mrs. Touroff, 12 pairs of crocheted slippers; Mrs. Sophie and Minnie Raba-koff, 2 fine silk ties; Mrs. Barnett Cohn, an elegant sofa pillow.

Cash donations: S. L. P. Educational Club of Brownsville, \$2; Independent Auxiliary Corps, \$5; Mrs. Director, \$2; Collected at the Colonial House, West Brookville, Sullivan County, by Mrs. B. Touroff, \$5; M. Golie, \$5; Kufeld, \$5; Danof, \$6; Baldelli, \$5; Kober, \$5.

The Necessity for a Sound Trades Union

[A lecture delivered at Bisbee, Arizona, by Frank Lightfoot.]

The subject selected for discussion this evening is: "The Necessity for a Sound Economic Organization of the Working Class." However, in my remarks this evening, I shall rather address myself to the necessity for a "class-conscious, revolutionary, industrial, economic organization of the working class," in describing an economic organization of labor that is calculated to be of any benefit or emancipate the working class from wage slavery.

For me thinks that I can see Sammy Gompers, chief of the A. F. of L., and his side partner, August Belmont, successor to the deceased Mark Hanna, both protesting that the A. F. of L. is sound in all respects, but there is not a class-conscious, revolutionary workingman in the world who would not pronounce it rotten instead of sound.

Since Socialism is a revolutionary movement and not one of reform, and whereas no social scheme will ever emancipate the proletariat that aims short of revolution, let us use the revolutionary terms that the science of Socialism has coined for us.

Furthermore, while we may hear Gompers and his masters in the Civic Federation loudly proclaiming that the A. F. of L. is a sound, economic organization of labor, these same betrayers and exploiters of labor would throw up their hands in horror at the very mentioning of the terms "class-conscious" and "revolutionary." Bitterly would they denounce and protest against the same and resort to every foul means conceivable to crush any economic organization of labor founded upon the class struggle, as they are at present doing with the I. W. W., which is the only class-conscious, revolutionary, industrial, economic organization of the working class upon the industrial field to-day.

No, the terms and phrases "capitalists and laborers have identical interests," "safe, sound and conservative unionism," "no politics in the union," "a fair day's pay for a fair day's work," and "craft autonomy" are very dear to the Belmont-Gompers capitalist federation of labor; for so long as duped workmen mouth these phrases the capitalists of the Civic Federation are safe in their robbery of labor; and Gompers, Mitchell, and the labor faking company are secure in drawing down their little bribes either in the shape of dirty pieces of silver or a political office from a capitalist government.

But once let the phrases "class struggle," "industrial unionism," "abolition of the wages system," "the rule of the working class," "class-consciousness," and the "social revolution" come from the mouths of any considerable portion of the working class with an intelligent understanding of the same and the capitalists of the Civic Federation seeing that the working class has got wise to the capitalist game of exploitation will cease their attempts to control the labor movement. They will give their "labor lieutenants," Gompers and Mitchell, the "G. B."; for these labor fakirs will then no longer be of any service to them in keeping the wage workers in wage slavery.

As to the necessity for a class-conscious, revolutionary, economic organization of labor, we have only to examine the social and economic condition of the working class for an answer. Such an investigation will disclose the fact that although labor saving machinery and science have increased labor's productive capacity a hundred fold over what it was a hundred years ago; that, despite this wonderful increase in production, caused by the advent of steam and electricity as motive powers, we have millions of paupers and thousands of beggars on one hand, and a few billionaires and millionaires on the other. Whereas, a hundred years ago, in this country, a tramp was a curiosity, so also was a millionaire. There were none extremely rich nor none extremely poor; the majority of the people belonged to what is called the middle class. But economic evolution has wrought in the last hundred years a revolution in production that has brought about a complete change in the economic and property relations of the people. To-day, speaking numerically, the greatest economic class in society is no longer the middle class, but the proletariat, wage working class—the proletariat.

Let us look into this revolution in production that has taken place, so that we may see more clearly its effects on the tools of production, and the users of them. Let us take some commodity—shoes, for illustration,—and compare their production at the present day with what it was a hundred years ago.

If we could have landed in Massachusetts a century ago we would more

than likely have found the shoemaker in some little cross-roads shop and seated beside him an apprentice; these two would more than likely have comprised the workers in the shop. Glancing at their tools, we would have seen that they were simple hand tools and not of costly character, their cost probably not exceeding a week's work of the user. Watching the shoemaker for a while we would see that it must have required a long period of training for the hand and eye to do his work; in other words, it required a great deal of skill to make a pair of shoes at that time.

From this picture we see that production was in a handicraft stage; it could not be otherwise from the very nature of the tools used. But inasmuch as the tools were individually used and not of a complicated nature, they were owned by the man who used them; and therefore owning the tools with which he worked, he also owned the shoes after they were made and therefore received the full product of his toil. Having got an idea of the making of the shoe in the days of handicraft or small production, let us take up the production of the shoe at the present time.

Were we to-day to land at Lynn, Brockton or Haverhill, Massachusetts, we would find that the chief industrial establishments in these towns were large shoe making plants. Entering one we would find hundreds of workers operating the most complicated machines driven by steam and electricity. We would find that the factory was divided into different departments; that the workers of the various departments were engaged in making one certain part of the shoe; that at last the different parts of the shoe from the various departments of the factory would come to the various assembling departments where the many parts are put together in the finished shoe. Hence, we see that production is no longer in the handicraft, but the machine stage; no longer conducted on a small, but a large scale; no longer individual, but social, collective and co-operative—in short, it has been revolutionized.

In dealing with our handicraft shoemaker, I pointed out to you that the tools he used were very simple; that such being the case the shoemaker owned the tools with which he worked and therefore owned the shoe after it was made and received the full product of his toil when he exchanged the shoe for the product of some other man's toil.

But how different is the situation with our modern shoemaker; look at the immense modern shoe plant with its costly machinery driven by steam and electricity, make an estimate of the cost of building, machinery and appliances and you will find that they run into hundreds of thousands of dollars. Now, you have the cost of the tool that is used for making shoes to-day. Ascertain now the weekly wage of any one of the workers in this vast shoe plant, divide this meagre wage of \$10 to \$15 by the thousands of dollars that it cost to establish this plant and you will have the number of years this shoemaker will have to live working steadily every day, without expense to himself, before he will have a sufficient amount of money to buy the tool with which he works. If we figure accurately we shall find that life is too short for him to lay by enough money to duplicate the factory in which he works in a life time. It would probably require a period of time covering his life time three-fold over and all this is supposing that he does not spend a dollar of his wages for food; clothing and shelter. Therefore, we see that the ownership of the tool wherewith shoes are at the present day is hopelessly out of reach of the modern wage working shoemaker.

Thus we see that the machine shoemaker is no longer like the olden handicraft shoemaker, a free and independent workingman, owning the means of his livelihood, but a wage slave dependent for his livelihood on the capitalist who owns the tools with which he works; no longer a highly skilled artisan, but a mere appendage to a machine. He is a slave because the essence of slavery is the right to the product of another man's toil, and we see him in the shop robbed of the surplus working time, the necessary working time being that required to pay his wages, supervision and the wear and tear on machinery or the capital used up in the course of production. This surplus working time is realized in a surplus value, when the capitalist, who, owning the tools, owns the products after they are made, sells them on the market, and pockets the difference between the cost of production and the selling price.

It is because of the plunder of the working class levied by the capitalist class that there is an irrepressible struggle raging between the capitalists, the

owners of the tools, and the wage workers, the operators of the machinery of production.

We see the capitalists pressed by certain economic laws, competition and the desire to get rich quick, ever-struggling for short wages and long hours, for the workers; on the other side we see the wage workers, reduced to a standard of living that means adulterated food, shoddy clothing, hovels and tenement houses for shelter, are struggling for shorter hours and longer wages.

Under capitalism the division of the product takes the form of dividends and wages. The capitalists increase their dividends or share of the product when they are able to increase the hours of labor or decrease the wage of the workers. On the other side, the wage workers increase their share of the product of their toil when they shorten their hours of labor or increase their wage.

This struggle, which is ever becoming more intense and assuming a greater magnitude, is called by the Socialists the "class struggle," and the workingman who intelligently understands the cause and effects of this struggle, and acts accordingly, is said to be "class-conscious." Not only is he class-conscious but revolutionary as well, because understanding the cause and the effects of the class struggle, it follows that he knows the remedy, which can be none other than social or collective ownership of the means of production and distribution or the wiping out of existence of the contradiction that exists to-day between individual ownership and social operation, which bears the fruit of all the social injustice that we have to-day.

The wage workers recognizing that in organization there is power, organize themselves into trades unions in demanding more of their product in the shape of shorter hours and larger pay.

In the past we have seen them organized in the A. F. of L., a pure and simple capitalist, craft-conscious, conservative, and reactionary labor union.

Capitalist and conservative is the A. F. of L. because it proclaims the identity of interests and the brotherhood of capital and labor; however, it gives the lie to this theory by organizing in fact to fight capital; for if capital and labor are brothers, why should they fight; only antagonistic interests quarrel?

It also follows that if capitalists and laborers have identical interests, it is conservative because this principle implies no necessity for a political and social change; it denies the robbery of labor by capital and blurs the class struggle.

Craft-conscious and reactionary is the A. F. of L. because it is governed by the principle of craft autonomy which is each craft for itself and the devil take the hinder-most. The result of this suicidal policy has been that the devil—capital—has all the crafts completely in his power.

Reactionary because it ignores economic evolution and the revolution that has taken place in production. Instead of being progressive enough to adapt itself to the revolutionized environment, it is so retrogressive that it wishes to keep labor organized on lines that were in keeping with the economic environment in the days of small production or feudalistic handicraft. In short, the A. F. of L. is not only out of date as a labor organization, but it is going backward instead of forward.

As an evidence of its impotency, witness the disastrous defeats that labor has suffered under its auspices in the strikes of the Chicago beef packers, the Fall River textile workers, the teamsters of Chicago, the New York Interborough railway men, the telegraphers on the N. P., and the boiler makers and machinists on the Santa Fe.

Another evidence of its lack of power to stop the encroachments of the capitalist class upon the working class is the fact, supported by the census and statistics of production, that labor's share of the wealth, despite the wonderful increase in its productive capacity, has steadily fallen since 1850.

Statistics show that in 1860 labor received \$20 out of every \$100 produced, in 1870 its share fell to eighteen per cent, or, out of every \$100, it got \$18, and somebody else got \$82; in 1880 it got seventeen per cent; in 1890 the decline of labor's share stopped and rose again to twenty per cent, just what it was thirty years before; but in 1900, we find that the rise in 1890 was only temporary, for labor's share has fallen again to seventeen per cent. So it is seen that pure and simple unionism as typified by the A. F. of L. is not only unable to gain an increase in labor's share of the product, but it cannot even stop a decline.

In view of these facts, it is seen there is an absolute necessity for an economic

organization of labor that is radically different from the capitalist A. F. of L. In fact, it must be the direct opposite of it in principles, methods of organization and tactics in battling with the master class.

The imperative necessity for such a union has already given birth to one under the name of the I. W. W., organized last July under the auspices of the Western Federation of Miners, the United Brotherhood of Railroad Employees, the United Metal Workers, the American Labor Union, and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance.

But in making a comparison of the principles of the I. W. W. with those of the A. F. of L., let the reasons for the defeats of the latter organization be looked into.

All of its defeats can be traced to the principles of craft autonomy and the identity of interests it claims exists between capital and labor.

Organized on these principles we see some craft of labor in some big industry, like beef packing, or railroad, go on strike, while all the other crafts in the same industry remain at work and scab on the craft that is on strike, their excuse being that they have a signed contract or agreement with the bosses, which they have been taught by such labor priests of the capitalist class as Sammy Gompers to reverence with superstitious awe.

Take, for instance, the packers' strike of Chicago, the engineers, porters, ice and refrigerator men did not aid the packers in tying up the industry. Why? Because they did not belong to the packers' union and probably had a signed agreement with the bosses which prevented them from striking at that time. If so, it was an agreement that made them scabs.

Take another example, the recent strike of the boilermakers and machinists on the Santa Fe. Did the engineers, the firemen and the rest of the trainmen, the telegrapher, the freight-handlers, the section men and the office employees, help tie up the road? No. Why? Because they did not all belong to an industrial union, and each craft had signed a scab agreement which prevented them from aiding each other.

Still another example, the late strike of the telegraphers on the Northern Pacific. Did the shopmen, the freight-handlers and the section men assist the train despatchers in tying up the industry? No. Why? Because they did not belong to one big, solid, industrial union linked together with like industrial unions of all the other industries of the land, that is, the mining, the textile, the iron and steel, the building and the farming industries.

In order that we may see more clearly just how the scab agreement paralyzes the efficiency of organized craft unionism, let us take any industry that embraces a good many crafts, the more the better for the capitalist and his purpose in signing agreements. Take the railroad for illustration. Starting with the shopmen he makes an agreement that will expire in April, and if he can he will make an agreement with each separate craft in the shop, that is, the boiler-makers, the machinists, the blacksmiths, the molders, and the patternmakers that will not expire on the same date for each craft, but on a different date. Next take the trainmen and he will make an agreement with them that will expire in August; another with his telegraphers that will expire in November, and so on down through the different departments—he makes agreements with the different crafts in such a manner as to tie them up and use them against each other in case any one craft takes a notion to strike.

Thus, it is seen that pure and simple craft unionism defeats itself; that organized on independent craft lines it is an organized scabbery; that the scab who helps to defeat a strike is not only the unorganized scab, but the organized scab also.

But the industrial field is not the only place that pure and simple craft unionism keeps the workers divided, it does the identical service for the capitalist class on the political field. Being a pure and simple union it ignores the important fact that political and economic interests are inseparable; that no proposition can be economic without being political at the same time, or vice versa; no proposition can be political without being economic. Proceeding on the false theory that economic interests are entirely independent of political interests, it marches to the tune of "no politics in the union." However, there is not a large city in this land but what we do not find some labor fakir holding down some political job that has been given to him as a bribe from some capitalist political party, so it is seen that notwithstanding the cry of "no politics in

the union" from the labor fakir, that there is capitalist politics in the union—the kind that gives the labor fakir coin and a fat political job for keeping out of the union, Socialist or working class politics.

Every election is seen one-half the pure and simple unionists voting for the Republican capitalist, the other half for the Democratic capitalist party.

In every big strike is seen the capitalists going to their political armory—the government—and using against the strikers such political weapons as the militia, the police and the injunction that they may force long hours and short wages upon the workers, which constitutes capitalist "law and order." Hence, it is seen that our A. F. of L. is not only an economic scab but a political scab as well, since he is seen at every election voting to put the political power in the hands of the capitalist class and against the Socialist workingmen of the land, who vote to put the powers of government—the courts and their injunctions, the militia and their rifles, and the police and their clubs—in the hands of the working class that they may be used in the interest of "law and order" for labor, which is large wages and short hours, and eventually the overthrow of wage slavery.

As a result of his cry of "no politics in the union," the pure and simpler is seen in another contradictory situation. On election day he votes to give the capitalist the job which carries with it the right to run his business without any interference and make as much money as he can, since he owns the job for that purpose and not for his health. His right to the ownership of the job therefore carries with it the right to skin labor. Whereas, on election day the Socialist unionist votes to take away the job from the capitalist; therefore, he is the only union man that has a moral right to strike for his denial of the right of the capitalist to the job and carries with it the denial of his right to skin him.

Let us now take up the Preamble of the I. W. W., and it will be seen that it is the direct opposite of the A. F. of L. in all its principles.

The first paragraph reads:

"The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things of life."

Every word of this paragraph breathes the class struggle, which denies that capital and labor have identical interests. The next paragraph shows its progressive and revolutionary character:

"Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political, as well as on the industrial field, and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization of the working class without affiliation with any political party."

Note the clause containing the words "and take and hold that which they produce by their labor through an economic organization of the working class." If this means anything it means that not only does this organization intend to battle for a bigger portion of the commodities that labor produces, but it also intends to "take and hold" the means of producing these commodities, that is the factory, the mines, the railroads and the steamships, since they are all the products of labor.

From the wording of this paragraph it is also seen that the I. W. W. is not a pure and simple labor union, for it reads, "Between these two classes a struggle must go on until all the toilers come together on the political as well as on the industrial field." So it is seen that the I. W. W. recognizes the necessity for political as well as economic action based upon the class struggle.

Taking up the last two important paragraphs, the Preamble concludes:

"The rapid gathering of wealth and the centering of the management of industries into fewer and fewer hands makes the trades union unable to cope with the ever-growing power of the employing class, because the trades unions foster a state of things which allows one set of workers to be pitted against another set of workers in the same industry, thereby helping defeat one another in wage wars. The trades unions aid the employing class to mislead the workers into the belief that the working class have interests in common with their employers."

"These sad conditions can be changed and the interests of the working class

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upheld only by an organization formed in such a way that all its members in any one industry, or in all industries, if necessary, cease work whenever a strike or lockout is on in any department thereof, thus making an injury to one an injury to all."

This gives us an idea as to I.W.W. methods of organizing labor, which shall be by departments or industries and not by warring crafts. Organized on this plan

we have the working class united in one big solid union making a class-conscious struggle against the master class, and not a lot of little, divided up, competing and warring factions and crafts waging not a class-conscious struggle, but a craft-conscious struggle against each other.

Furthermore the members of the I. W. W. will back up their strike with the ballot and support their ballot with the strike.

The Life of Garrison

Martin Luther's "Here I take my stand" was not braver than the "I will be heard" of William Lloyd Garrison. It did not seem within the range of human probability that a young man without influence, without social or political connections, without money and standing, alone would ever be able to make good those audacious and sublime words. But this the young reformer did actually do within a few months only after he had uttered them. Within a few months the whole country, North and South alike, was talking on the subject of slavery and "The Liberator." Almost at once proofs came to Garrison that he was heard by the people of the North and by the people of the South. There were snarling criticisms from New England editors, animadverting on his "violent and intemperate attacks on slaveholders"; savage growls from the South against "The Liberator" as a "scandalous and incendiary budget of sedition." Letters breathing violence against him reached the office of "The Liberator" from the South. Southern grand juries indicted the editor, steps were taken by at least one Southern Governor looking to the extradition of the reformer, while the Legislature of Georgia offered a reward of \$5,000 for his apprehension and conviction. Within one year from the first issue of "The Liberator" the whole country had heard this champion of the slave.

Still "help came but slowly" to him. With a single instrument he had thrown the South into widespread alarm, and thawed the apathy of the North into widespread and angry attention. But none knew better than he that while all this was well, it was not enough. Instantly powerful as he had proved one paper to be, alone it was inadequate to the work of prolonged anti-slavery agitation which the ultimate abolishment of the evil rendered necessary. Back of him and "The Liberator" he needed numbers, organization and coadjutors like Aaron and Hur to hold up his arms in the long battle with slavery. Therefore, with the instinct of genius, he proceeded to organize the movement started by him. This he effected in Boston a year after the first appearance of "The Liberator," when the New England Anti-Slavery Society was formed by himself and eleven of his disciples. Within the year following this event the American Anti-Slavery Association was organized at Philadelphia. Other societies sprang from these all over the North, and with them the agitation against slavery, be-

gun single-handed by Garrison, became an organized movement pushing its moral forces everywhere through the free States with terrible earnestness. Garrison, thus equipped with his organized movement, pitted himself and it with relentless purpose against the organized slave power of the Union. And the battle thereafter raged along the whole line, in church and State and throughout the social world and throughout that other world of business also. And everywhere Garrison was the heart of the agitation, the master spirit of the abolition movement.

At this grave crisis in their history in this country, it may be well * * * to mark carefully the means employed by Garrisonian abolitionism in its struggle with the evil of slavery more than seventy years ago. These means were: First, petitions to Congress on the subject of slavery; second, the printing and circulation of anti-slavery literature; and third, the anti-slavery agent or lecturer who went up and down through the free States gathering facts and preaching the gospel of freedom. Such were the simple means which became in the hands of the anti-slavery societies that unequalled machinery by which they operated on public opinion, and through which they produced moral and political results revolutionary and prodigious.

In September, 1834, the reformer received the greatest individual help which ever came to him during his life, when he was united in marriage to Miss Helen Eliza Benson, daughter of George Benson, a venerable philanthropist of Rhode Island. She was indeed a rare woman, wonderfully adapted in every way to be the wife of such a man. And he needed now, if ever a man did need it, a home such as Mrs. Garrison made for him, in which to find refuge from the storm and hate and persecution which was then beating with increasing fury upon his devoted head. For the rapid spread of the slavery agitation alarmed and enraged the South, alarmed and enraged also the North. And when the former demanded of the latter its suppression, forcible suppression of the agitators was thereupon attempted throughout the free states. The instrument employed for this purpose was the mob. Mobs broke out in one State and then in another. From Vermont to Illinois the Northern people went mob-mad. These advanced in terrible succession popular inundations of violence which overthrew for the nonce the freedom of assembly, the freedom of the press, and the right

of free speech on the subject of slavery. The hated abolitionists possessed then no rights, either personal or property, which the rest of the Nation felt bound to respect. All were ruthlessly attacked as in the case of the burning of Pennsylvania Hall in Philadelphia, the destruction of James B. Birney's press in Cincinnati, and the murder of Elijah P. Lovejoy at Alton, Ill.

Mr. Garrison was attacked by this wild cat-like spirit of the times, and escaped barely with his life in the city of Boston itself. He had invited his friend George Thompson, the famous English abolitionist and orator, to assist the movement against slavery in America. And Thompson had crossed the water for that purpose, and was rendering aid to the agitation with surpassing eloquence. This interference of a foreigner in the domestic affairs of the States fired the worst passions of the city against him. He was engaged to address the Boston Female Anti-Slavery Society on October 21, 1835; but his danger was so great that he was advised to leave the city instead. Garrison agreed to take his place, and upon his head the wrath of the broadcloth mob broke that day with terrific violence. He was hunted from one building to another, and was at last seized and dragged through the streets with a noose about his neck. After this terrible struggle he was rescued from the clutches of the mob and taken into the City Hall, thence he was spirited by a ruse, and after a thrilling pursuit by a mob, he was committed to Leverett street jail, as the only place in the city which was able to afford him protection from his enemies.

Throughout these years of mob violence and martyrdom the prophet did not flinch or falter, or retreat a single inch from the position which he had taken. The fires of pro-slavery persecution could not burn out of his breast the love of his fellow-men, albeit they were slaves, nor since the single sublime purpose of his unconquerable will. The South put a heavy price upon his head one day, but the next he faced it with the same stern and uncompromising message of justice. Boston mobbed him one week, but the next he confronted her as before, the same grand and commanding man of God.

From 1835 to 1860 the history of the moral movement against slavery in America is the history of this one man and his great coadjutors like Wendell Phillips, Theodore D. Weld, Parker Pillsbury, Frederick Douglass, Theodore

Parker, Lucretia Mott, Stephen and Abby Kelly Foster, the sisters Grimke, Samuel E. Sewall, Ellis Gray Loring, Maria Weston Chapman, David Lee and Lydia Maria Child, Francis Jackson, Samuel J. May, Samuel May, Edmund Quincy, Henry I. and William I. Bowditch, and Lucy Stone. It was Garrison who made Abraham Lincoln possible, and it was his principles of freedom which finally triumphed in the war, and penned by the hand of the great President the Emancipation Proclamation. Throughout that war the great abolitionist supported with all his might the cause of the Union, and held up the honor of Lincoln. And when the war closed Lincoln, recognizing the supreme part which Garrison had played in the slavery struggle, invited him to be present with his old friend George Thompson as guests of the newly restored Union at the re-raising of the National flag over Fort Sumter. Well does the writer recall Mr. Garrison's visit to Charleston at that time, how he addressed the colored people in their public meetings, and how they in turn poured at his feet such manifestations of love and gratitude as have rarely crowned the labors of a reformer.

The world service of these labors for humanity was fitly recognized on the occasion of Mr. Garrison's visit to England in 1867. At a notable breakfast given in London in his honor, and which was attended by many illustrious men, John Bright, who presided, after referring to our Civil War, remarked that "probably history has no sadder, and yet, if we take a different view, I may say also, probably no brighter page. To Mr. Garrison more than any other man this is due. His is the creation of that opinion which has made Slavery hateful, and which has made freedom possible in America. His name is venerated in his own country, venerated where not long ago it was a name of obloquy and reproach. His name is venerated in this country and in Europe wheresoever Christianity softens the hearts and lessens the sorrows of men."

Garrison's abolitionism went the whole length of the humanity of the colored race, and all that that implies in a color-prejudice ridden country like this. The poorest or most ignorant of them, whether bound or free, were his brothers and sisters. From first to last he regarded them as bone of his bone and blood of his blood, as children with him of a common Father. He never looked down on them as wanting in any

essential respect the manhood which was his. To him they were men and women, entitled to freedom, entitled besides to equality of civil and political rights in the State, equality and fraternity in the church, equality and fraternity everywhere, North and South alike. This is the doctrine which he practiced. In not a single instance was he ever found separating himself on account of race from his brother in black. He drew no color line in public, he drew none in private, saying to the negro: "Thus far, but no farther," not even socially. He went into their homes and was in all things with them; and they went into his home in like manner. He forgot that he was white, forgot that they were black, forgot the pride of race, forgot the stigma of race is the tie of human kinship and need, which bound him indissolubly to them. If he possessed what they did not have, viz: the chance of a man in society, the rights of a citizen in the country, the equality of a brother in the church, this did not make him feel himself better than they, but filled him instead with indignation at the wrong done them, with passionate sympathy and a burning desire to make his own rights and opportunities the full measure of theirs.

As he lived and loved and labored, so he died, true to the great principles of liberty, justice and human brotherhood. Indeed, his last written word to the public was in defense of the freedom and citizenship of the colored people of the South against the violent hostility of that section toward them. With dying breath he blew a fast trumpet blast for "liberty and equal rights for each, for all, and forever, wherever the lot of man is cast within our broad domains." And on May 24, 1879, he then aged prophet and friend of man was gathered to his fathers at the home of his daughter, Mrs. Henry Villard, in New York.

"Men of a thousand shifts and wiles, look here! See one straightforward conscience put in pawn

To win a world; see the obedient sphere By bravery's simple quavillation drawn. Shall we not heed the lesson taught of old,

And by the Present's lips repeated still, In our own single manhood to be bred, Fortressed in conscience and impregnable will?"

—Archibald H. Grimke, in the "New York Age."

A CRITICISM

ON THE ADDRESS "THE PREAMBLE OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD."

I have read Mr. De Leon's speech. He states the workmen are getting only 17 per cent. of what they produce (figure for 1900), thus intimating that the capitalists receive the remaining 83 per cent. He claims that the Republican party issued a circular giving the total value of products and the wages paid to the Working Class for various periods, from 1860 to 1900, alleging that the Republicans in doing so, sought to deceive the public by leaving out certain other figures. These figures, in the form of the Number of Workmen employed during the various periods, Mr. De Leon adds for the consideration of the Working Class stating that now the statistics are properly presented, showing that while in 1900 they got as their share 20 per cent., in 1860 they received only 17 per cent. of what they produced.

My argument is not whether the Working Class in 1900 received more than in 1860 or less than 1860. What concerns me at present is the statement that they actually receive out of what they produce only from 17 to 20 per cent.

Why, if Mr. De Leon wishes to give ALL the figures, does HE omit some important data respecting this matter? That is to say, why does he present the statistics in a manner to deceive workmen, grossly deceive them, by presenting the ridiculous intimation that the capitalists get about 1 per cent. of what the workmen produce? I can hardly be called a capitalist, neither am I insane; and a sane man regards such a statement as an affront to his intelligence.

Let us take the figures for the latest dates available, say the two decades of 1860 and 1900, which are as follows (before Mr. De Leon supplements the same):

Product of Manufactures:
1860 \$ 9,372,437.282
1900 13,089,279.576
Wages Paid:
1860 \$1,891,228.231
1900 2,330,578.010
Mr De Leon adds:
No. of Workmen Employed:
1860 4,351,535
1900 5,341,539

The above figures are all taken from the Daily People reporting Mr. De Leon's speech, which he in turn claims to have procured from the reports of the U. S. census. According to these, the working class in 1860, he states, received 20 per cent. and (presumably) the capitalists the balance of 80 per cent., and in 1900 the Working Class received 17 per cent. and the capitalists (presumably) 83 per cent. of the value of the products.

Did the Working Class receive 20 per cent. and 17 per cent. respectively, and the capitalists 80 and 83 per cent. respectively, in 1860 and in 1900? Let us add some further figures and look at the results.

If I tell you that a baker sells a loaf of bread for 10 cents and the workman gets 2 cents per loaf as his share, it doesn't mean that the baker has 8 cents profit. No, he pays, let us say, 6 cents for the flour and material. You will say, But labor crushes the wheat into flour and labor harvests the wheat. Yes, true enough, but in the statistics given, all these labors ARE included, CONSISTING OF THE VARIOUS LABORS ADDED TOGETHER, and form a TRUE figure or estimate of actual wages paid; whereas the Manufactured Product as given in the statistics is repeated over and over again—the cost of the bread including the cost of the flour and again the cost of the wheat, etc. Suppose you save a dollar the first year, and the next year another dollar; at the end of the second year you will have two dollars. You will not have one dollar for the first year PLUS two dollars for the second year. There entered into the item of Products of Manufacture an item of total cost of materials amounting to \$7,777,907,079, representing the raw material, etc., to be manufactured, which is your dollar for the first year. Thus while the labor part of the figures is correctly computed, the manufactured products are not the result of a combination of different ingredients, but the same articles added and included continually at every stage of manufacture, instead of taking the original cost of the wheat and adding thereto the various costs of labor and expenses in the

course of manufacture. So you see that from the Value of Manufactured Products of \$13,039,219,566, can be reduced \$7,327,907,079 representing the raw material, the labor for the last item, nevertheless, having been computed under its proper heading, leaving for the purpose of comparison a Manufacturing Value of \$5,711,312,487. The Raw Materials figure I procured from the World Almanac.

Again, I notice The People states the wages paid in 1900 were \$1,891,228,321 and in 1900, \$2,330,578,010. These were the WAGES paid. Doesn't it occur to you that there is such a thing as SALARIES also, for clerk and office hire? Or isn't such work "labor"? The World Almanac for 1905 gives as "Wages and Salaries" paid for 1900 \$2,735,430,848. It does not give figures for 1900. But on this basis, the Wages and Salaries for 1900 would be approximately \$3,356,032,334.

Now, applying these figures, Wages and Salaries paid, and the purely Manufacturing Value figures, you will find that the Working Class received as its share, not 17 per cent., but actually 50 per cent. Of course, this would still leave 41 per cent. to be divided up among 709,328 proprietors (World Almanac), but this may include the heavy expenses of Government, of public institutions, of hospital and charitable institutions, etc., which would reduce considerably this 41 per cent. At any rate the Working Class is receiving not 17 per cent., or 20 per cent., but 50 per cent. according to the figures of 1900, and possibly more in other years. I have not computed the workmen's percentage for 1860 or other years, because my purpose was to show that this 17 per cent. share to the workers was a flagrant misapplication of figures by Mr. De Leon. For it must be that he recognizes that such a figure is ridiculous, to say the least.

If the Socialists can lie on one occasion, how is one sure they do not lie all the time?

A. SPINRAD.
New York.
(See editorial answer, page IV.)

DAILY PEOPLE FESTIVAL,
Grand Central Palace, Lexington ave.,
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day, November 30, (Thanksgiving Day).
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CHEAP MUSLIN UNDERWEAR

THE SHOCKING CONDITIONS OF ITS MANUFACTURE DISCUSSED IN A NEW BOOK.

One of the chapters in a forthcoming book by Florence Kelly, secretary of the National Consumers' League, will deal exhaustively with the "Social Cost of Cheap Underwear." If every other chapter in the book is to be skipped by women readers, a perusal of this one should be gratifying to the author and edifying to the reader. The production of muslin underwear on a large scale is a modern outgrowth of the garment trades. Almost any woman thirty years of age remembers a time when all women who were in the least particular about their undergarments had them made at home, unless they were wealthy enough to buy imported lingerie, the fine products of French convents. Within the last twenty years the muslin underwear trade has grown to such proportions that the great mass of women never dream of making a single garment in their own homes.

Of all the garment trades the most unorganized is the branch in question. The underwear makers are generally untouched by the unions, and it is extremely difficult to get any statistics of hours, wages, or conditions of work. It is generally believed that some of the work in New York is done in institutions partially supported by the State, and that dishonest officials derive a regular income from the labor of orphan and abandoned children, who, under the pretence of being taught a trade, are forced into factory life, while yet under the legal working age. That these abuses actually exist is not doubted by the Consumers' League and others, but they have never been positively proved. The trade is disorganized by tenement house labor, if not by institution labor, and the immigrant population, which so easily acquires the necessary skill for most of the processes of manufacture, further complicates the problem.

The cheapness of muslin underwear is largely dependent on the increased quantity turned out in the factories. On this point Mrs. Kelly's chapter throws an interesting light. The development of machinery has been such as to greatly in-

crease the speed of sewing machines, so that at the present they set twice as many stitches as the machines of 1899 were capable of Mrs. Kelly says: "Machines which formerly carried one needle now carry from two to ten needles, sewing parallel seams (for bones in waists, or for tucks, or merely for decorative stitching). Thus, a girl using one of these machines is now responsible for twice as many stitches as she was in 1899. Some girls are not capable of the sustained speed involved in this improvement, and are no longer eligible for this occupation. Those who continue in the trade are required to feed twice as many garments to the machine as were required five years ago. The strain upon their eyes is, however, far more than twice what it was before the mechanical improvement. In the case of machines carrying multiple needles this is obvious; but it is true of the single needle machines also. It is the duty of the operative to watch the needle so intently as to discern the irregularity caused by a broken thread or a broken needle, and to stop the machinery (by pressing an electric button) before any threads are cut by the broken needle or any stitches are omitted because of the broken thread. Now, when the needles set twenty-two hundred stitches a minute, as was the case in 1899, the writer, whose eyes are usually keen, could see the needle when the machine was in motion. At the present speed the writer whose eyes have remained unimpaired, is wholly unable to see the needle, discerning merely the steady gleam of light where it is in motion. To meet this difficulty, which occurs regularly in the case of the operatives, it is now the custom to suspend an electric light directly above the machine, so that a ray strikes the needle. The strain upon the eyes of the operative is almost intolerable, and a further winnowing out of the women eligible for this occupation follows the introduction of the present system of lighting."

The theory of improved machinery is that it directly benefits the worker, the manufacturer, and the consumer, or

History of a Proletarian...Family...Across the Ages

By Eugene Sue.

Translated by Daniel De Leon.

In order to understand our own time it is absolutely necessary that we know something of the times that have gone before. The generations are like links in a chain, all connected. The study, by which we can learn what has been done and thought before us, is history, and this is perhaps the most fascinating of all studies. Many historians fill their books with nothing but battles and the doings of "great" men, but happily this style of writing history is becoming obsolete, and the history of the people is taking its place. Socialism is more concerned with the history of the people than with the doings of kings and queens; and with a knowledge of the history of the people we can better understand how the great men achieved prominence. Eugene Sue has given us in the form of fiction the best universal history extant. It is a monumental work entitled "The Mysteries of the People," or "History of a Proletarian Family Across the Ages."

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If not all of them, at least the manufacturer. It is not reasonable to suppose that manufacturers will install expensive machinery if they are not to profit by it. Mrs. Kelly says that she has made careful inquiry into the question of benefit derived from the extreme speed of machines in this branch of the garment trades. On the whole it does not appear that any benefit whatever has accrued to the workers, Mrs. Kelly says: "If all the gain that is made by the improvement in the machines went to the operatives in the form of increased wages, it is doubtful whether it would be compensation for the additional strain upon their eyes and nerves. But no such share of gain falls to them. Their wages are calculated upon the same basis as in 1899; namely that employees of the required speed and skill can be obtained in the required number for six dollars a week, irrespective of their output of work. . . . On the part of the girls the statement is very generally made that in places in which the supply of help is abundant, the proportion of girls receiving less than six dollars a week is kept large by constantly discharging hands, dismissing those whose wages are growing higher with increasing skill, and taking on beginners. Combined with this constant changing goes a frequent rearrangement of piece work prices, such that only a small minority of girls in a factory ever rise above the dead level of six dollars a week, the same sum that was paid in 1899 for half the

work done by a girl. One skilled worker, who left a factory for four years, and returned to the same machine which she had left, found it speeded up to double its former capacity. Her work was doubled, but her wages increased only from six dollars a week to seven, although she was one of the most skilled persons in her trade, an experienced, strong, willing operator. The girl was asked who, in her opinion, profited by the doubling of the output of her machine. In reply she said: 'I get a dollar a week more. The company makes something out of the improvement, or they would not have made it. But there have been so many cuts in prices that the company don't get as much as you'd think for doubling the speed of machines. I guess the people who buy the garments must get most of the difference; they can get so many more garments for the same money.'

The Consumers' League, by agreement with the Garment Workers' Union, restricts its label to muslin underwear. The League does not, however, consider fair wages or the speed of machines as conditions on which the label is granted. On this account the union rather opposes than assists the League label. The union is not strong enough in any branch to effect many changes, and, as has been said, it is especially ineffective in the muslin underwear branch. Consequently, buyers will continue to reap the doubtful benefit of cheap underwear.—Evening Post Book Review.

WEEKLY PEOPLE

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copy of their articles, and not to expect
them to be returned. Consequently, no
stamps should be sent for return.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

In 1888..... 2,068
In 1892..... 21,157
In 1896..... 36,564
In 1900..... 34,191
In 1904..... 34,172

Impossible be strange attempts to those
That weigh their plans in sense, and do
suppose

What hath not been can't be.

—SHAKESPEARE.

"IMPOSSIBILISM."

In the answer to a correspondent,
calling upon it to define its attitude to-
ward the Industrial Workers of the
World, the Los Angeles privately-owned
"Common Sense" admits that "craft un-
ionism has been playing into the hands
of the enemy," on account of which it
"hails with the spirit of true comradeship
a truly Socialist economic organiza-
tion such as is the Industrial Workers
of the World," and thereupon proceeds
to qualify its hail by declaring that it
would "rather see it (the identical I. W.
W.) die than live, and that quickly" if
it is to be "used as a means of reviv-
ifying and bolstering up an impossibil-
ist political party that does more damage
to the cause of Socialism than good, and
if it seeks to be a means of rupture of
the Socialist party itself."

"Impossibilism" is a term that means
different things in different countries.
Its meaning in each instance is to be
gathered from the things that are con-
sidered impossible by those who set up
the term "Impossibilism," and are con-
sidered possible and necessary by those
against whom the term is hurled. Here
in America "Impossibilism" is the name
that has been given to the following code
of principles:

"First. A Socialist political organiza-
tion is a kite without a tail, a gun loaded
with powder and no bullet, noise, signi-
fying nothing, unless it is the conscious
and direct reflex of a class-conscious, that
is, a Socialist economic organization,
upon which it is banked, and through
which its aspirations to take and hold
the administration of the land can be
realized.

"Second. An effective Socialist politi-
cal organization is, therefore, bound to
give as much thought to the economic
requirements of the Movement as to the
political. It is bound to endeavor to
straighten out economic organizations
whose construction renders them hand-
maids to the Capitalist Class; and, if its
efforts in that direction fail, then to
recognize that such economic organiza-
tions are offered by labor-leaguers
of the labor-exploiters, and to expose
and to oppose the masked bulwarks
of capitalism. On the other hand, the
loyalty of such a Socialist political body
and all the arms of its arsenal are due
without stint to that economic organiza-
tion that is an earnest of the realization
of its aspirations to overthrow the capi-
talist regime.

"Third. No Socialist political organiza-
tion can escape its economic organiza-
tion affinity. The attempt to do so
is the ostrich fatuous trick. Even if
a Socialist political body sought to ignore
the Question of Unionism, the Question
of Unionism will not ignore it. The
inevitable result of such a policy of
cowardice is to lapse under the domina-
tion of capitalist "Unionism," and
thence unavoidably into corruption and
reason."

Such, in condensed form, are the tenets
that have been dubbed "Impossibilism."
These tenets may be still further con-
densed into the maxim: "No Socialist
Unionism, no emancipation of the Work-
ing Class, no Socialist Republic." The
Los Angeles "Common Sense" admits
the I. W. W. to be a "truly Socialist
economic organization," nevertheless,
it would rather see such a truly Socialist
body "die than live, and that quickly"—
if that admittedly good thing should
lead to certain results!

Such exactly was the intellectual post-
ure of the statuemarkers of Diana when,
realizing that Christianity would wipe
away their occupation, they ran through
the streets of Ephesus crying: "Great
is Diana!" Such exactly was the intel-
lectual posture of the clergy towards
Kepler's work on astronomy that they
realized threatened to overthrow the
myth of the earth being the center of
the universe, and thereby to affect their
rule. Such, exactly, is, to-day, the in-
tellectual posture of the same element
towards evolution. Aye, such, exactly,
is the posture of the Capitalist Class to-
wards Socialism. The feature of the

intellectual posture of all of these ever
was and is a dodging and a begging of
the question: either to shut their eyes
to the merit of a Movement, or, if their
eyes could not be wholly shut thereto,
admit its virtues, but "rather see it
die than live, and that quickly," if, in
either case, it might endanger—what?
—THEIR SUPERSTITIONS, or THEIR
INTERESTS. It is the posture of the
bigot, or the self-seeker, and, as every-
body knows, the dividing line between
the two is not always ascertainable.
Such is not the posture of the intellec-
tually and morally healthy. With these,
if that which is recognized as sound
leads to results that interests, or habits
of thought, render unpalatable, then,
the conclusion is—not "Perish the ad-
mittedly good!"—but "Let us thoroughly
overhaul our former habits of thought
and look critically into our interests, and
if we see that either will not stand in
the light of what is true, then, perish
they, and not it!" Such, in fact, and not
the privately owned "Common Sense's,"
is the posture of the intellectually and
morally healthy Socialists of the land,
to-day, who, holding that the I. W. W.
is the rockbed of Socialist unity and
triumph, are gathering there, regardless
of what fetiches they thereby forsake,
or what amendments they may have to
adopt to previous views.

And why should not they? Complete
Truth never yet was the sole possession
of any man, or body of men. Even if it
ever were, he is an arrant fool who
imagines he can not err. The sane man
ever leaves a broad margin for correc-
tions. Even, therefore, in the extreme
case that he is absolutely right, the
wrestling with a sincere adversary, how-
ever wrong the latter, contributes to
fortify the former's Truth, contributes to
make it clearer to his adversary, and
thereby to himself as well. The Truth
thus established becomes the joint prod-
uct of BOTH; they both wrestled for
and won it jointly. Why should they not
join hands and enjoy the fruit of their
joint conquest? Only bigotry, selfish
interest or malignity could interfere—
these the healthy Socialist casts behind
him and tramples under foot. As with
men, so with bodies of men.

"Mention not that stupid word to me!"
cried Mirabeau to the weakling who
said a certain move was "impossible."
All is possible to the now uniting So-
cialists of our land.

WITTE IN OVERALLS.

The onward moving revolution in Rus-
sia having ripened to the point of an
"armed general strike," the labor-sleep-
ing class of the Empire feel decidedly sick
—how sick may be judged from the latest
manifesto issued by their tomtit
Count Witte. The manifesto deserves to
be scanned clause by clause. It runs
thus:

"Brother Workmen—"

Oh, they are "brothers!" But, yes-
terday the Witte set would not wipe
their feet upon the workman: to-
day they are his brothers. Truly, in
revolutions, men ripen fast. Truly, also
The Devil being sick, the Devil a
monk would be.

"Get to your work."

Why, we thought we were all "broth-
ers". One set of brothers should not
say to the other set: "Get to your
work"; they should say: "Let us all
get to our work". The wolf's claws
seem to be too long to remain wholly
concealed under the sheep's skin.

"Cease making disturbances, and have
pity on your wives and children."

That's just what they have—"pity
on their wives and children"—whence
they refuse to leave these any longer
in their present state of misery, with
the prospect of future misery morefold,
unless they do "disturb" things.

"Do not listen to bad advice."

The advice the workman has hith-
erto been listening to brought him to his
present pickle. Moreover, it sounded
very much like the one Witte is now
labeled out. The only difference is that
it was not then, as now, labeled out in
overalls. Whatever advice the work-
man may now listen to can not possibly
be worse than the advice he formerly
swallowed up credulously, and now has
got onto.

"The Emperor has ordered us to de-
voted special attention to the labor ques-
tion."

That's just what the enlightened
workman does not want them to, and
has got tired of their doing. In Rus-
sia, as in America, the Labor-fleecers
class have been long doing nothing but
"devoting attention to the labor ques-
tion"—special, specialer, specialst at-
tention. The workman now proposes
to devote his own attention to his own
concerns.

"For this purpose, his Majesty has
created a minister of trade and com-
merce which must especially seek to es-
tablish just relations between workmen
and employers."

Fudge! The age of miracles is over.
"Just relations between workmen and
employers" could only be a miracle. How
come there to be employers, how work-
men? Surely no man out of a lunatic
asylum would think of working for an-
other if he could work for himself. Are

employers born with the land on which to
work strapped to their backs, and with
the machinery needed to work with
snuggly packed upon their shoulders?
Hardly. The land is the gift of Nature,
the capital the product of social labor.
For any human being to be without
these, he must either have been forcibly
or by chicanery stripped of his share
of them, or, in a fit of fanatic devotion
for Usurpation, somewhere called Cap-
italism, stripped himself of all his hav-
ings, that insured him independence, and
left himself a pauper to be employed by
others. The latter theory is inadmissi-
ble. Only the former will stand. Can
just relations be established between the
spoiler and the spoiled? Can one win
wrongly, and yet not play false? Witte's
overalls are falling off.

"Have patience."

That ass's virtue is at about the end
of its tether. Labor has hitherto been
fed on patience. It has chewed long
enough upon air. It now demands a
more substantial menu.

"All that is possible will be done for
you."

Nothing that is "possible," only the
"impossible," can be done FOR the Work-
ing Class. Whatever is "possible," that
has to be done BY the Working Class
itself.

"Listen to the advice of a man who
sympathizes with you and wishes you
well."

The Devil being sick, the Devil a monk
would be;

The Devil being well, the devil a monk
was he,

is the evident response from the Rus-
sian Working Class.

IMPOTENCE AND IMPUDENCE.

Representatives of railroad employes
—a body of wage slaves estimated at
about 250,000, and the importance of
whose post for the emancipation of the
Working Class is being exemplified in
the Russian revolution—stepped up
humbly on the 14th instant before Pres-
ident Roosevelt, and with bated breath
entered a tremulous protest against the
proposed rate legislation. The argument
of these men was that the rate legisla-
tion logically meant lower rates, and
that this, in turn, could not choose but
be followed by lower wages.

Pure and simple Unionism had for its
mission to help speed the transition from
small and scattered to huge and concen-
trated production. That mission was
useful. It urged on the day of the
Co-operative Commonwealth. The de-
mands of pure and simple Unionism, though
petty, served to help wipe out the small
concerns, and thus bring about the mam-
moth establishments that the Socialist
Commonwealth could and now can take
over. In this process pure and simple
Unionism necessarily gravitated towards
the bigger master; it ever served as the
scaffolding upon which the towering capi-
talist climbed and raised his structure.
Such a structure is the present railroad
system of the land; such a rotten-ripe
fruit for shaking off is the railroad mag-
nates class. And yet the spectacle pre-
sented by the wage slaves' committee
that memorialized the President was
that of the scaffolding of a ready build-
ing praying to be continued as scaffold-
ing. The spectacle was even more
pitiful. It was that of 250,000 men, who
hold the most strategic position for the
overthrow of wage slavery, and the
bones of whose craftsmen bleach the
shambles of capitalism, are satisfied to
clank their chains, and beg to continue
to serve their immediate masters against
the masters of other divisions of their
fellow wage slaves!—What a picture of
IMPOTENCE!

On the other hand we have the Pres-
ident or chieftain of the capitalist class
indulging towards these men in the
pharisaic cant about the mutuality of the
interests of the workman and the
employer, of the bloodsucker and the
bloodsucker. Telling them that if either
encroached upon the other they would
be fought by him—by him who, in his
last annual message, denounced as intol-
erable the action of some letter carriers
to do just what the railroad maghates
engaged in the transportation of the
mails did with his approval, to wit, or-
ganize for the purpose of bringing
political pressure upon Congress to raise
the appropriations for their incomes, and
who enforced his denunciations by caus-
ing the said "culprit" letter carriers to be
dismissed from the service—What a
picture of IMPUDENCE!

And the two pictures illumined each
other. Impotent Pure and Simple Union-
ism was too craven to cry "Shame!" upon
the impudence; impudent Capitalism
drew sap from the knock-kneed impo-
tence before it.

AFTER HIDES.

The Democratic Governor of Massa-
chusetts, William L. Douglas, of shoe-
making fame, and the Republican Gov-
ernor-elect, Curtis Guild, Jr., together
with many other Republican as well as
Democratic leading employers of Labor,
appeared in person or by telegram, on
the 10th instant before the President,
and urged the removal of the duty on
hides. These men do not want "tariff
tinkering," at least not on hides. On that

commodity they are a unit—they are all
free traders.

Bastiat's droll book on the "Sophisms
of Protection" will ever remain a monu-
ment of vulgar bourgeois economics, a
monument of bourgeois false pretenses
and of the knack of the bourgeois liter-
atti to clothe these pretenses in elo-
quence and wit. There is another little
book that bears the opposite title—
"Sophisms of Free Trade"—written "by
a London Barrister," the value of which
will grow with the years. Marx' arch-
satiire, "Address on Free Trade," in many
passages recalls this book. The speech
made by Gov. Douglas, together with the
Republican ex-protectionists who have
now become free traders on hides, re-
calls the book some more—forcibly so.

"We were ready enough to interfere
for the employer," runs a trenchant
passage in the London barrister's sar-
castic work, "can nothing now be done
for the employed?"

The sentence punctures the bombastic
bubble of the tariff question, whether
blown by protectionists or free traders.
It is a question that, however treated, ever
was and is an "interference for the em-
ployer," never for the employed. Pro-
tection was intended to and did act as a
poultice to help bring the capitalist boil
to a head; free trade is the poultice taken
off when the carbuncle has reached its
glory, when the poultice is an inter-
ference with, a hindrance to the ulcer's
unbandaged throbs. It was so with one
time protection and subsequently free
trade England. The identical spectacle
is presented to-day by the one-time pro-
tectionist leather manufacturers, who
now are undertaking trips to Washing-
ton in favor of free trade on hides.

Neither from protectionist nor free
trade employers need the employed ever
expect to have any good wind blow
to them. Under free trade as under
protection, the employed are wage
slaves. Exploitation is bound to be-
come intenser and ever intenser, in the
measure that capitalism progresses. As
free trade marks a stage of higher capi-
talism than protection, so is free trade
bound to mark an intenser degree of ex-
ploitation. It is but a Mephistophelian
stroke of fate that the leading ex-pro-
tectionists who have risen to the free
trade stage of capitalism are after free
hides—the hides for their wares and the
hides of their wage slaves.

There is trouble brewing in Japan.
Seven hundred thousand soldiers re-
turning from war want employment that
cannot be found. They will learn that
capitalism in Japan will use them in its
interests, just the same. Whereas they
were formerly the army of national de-
fense, they will now be the reserve army
of the unemployed; where in the former
instance they beat down the enemies
of Japan, they will in the latter beat
down the wages and subsistence of their
fellow proletarian. Was there ever such
an ignoble change in affairs—such a
contemptible reward for services valiant-
ly rendered? No wonder there is trou-
ble brewing in Japan!

We do not, as a rule, make any men-
tion in this column of affairs that per-
tain entirely to the business department,
but just at present circumstances war-
rant a departure from the rule. In the
business department notes, which appear
elsewhere in this issue, the record shows
that subscriptions to the Weekly People
are not coming in as they should. Far
from it. The trouble seems to be that
the work of getting subscriptions is
done by fits and starts, instead of by
steadily maintained effort.

We know of no agency whereby the
workingman can be reached with the
principles and tactics of the Party, that
is equal to the Weekly People. The
paper must be brought to their attention
and it is for this, among other purposes,
that we are organized. By working to-
gether, from the Atlantic to the Pacific,
from Canada to the Gulf, we can run
up the subscription list for the Weekly
People. To all Sections we would sug-
gest that the Party Press be made a
feature of the order of business. To the
extent that new readers are secured,
just to that extent is the influence of the
movement being spread. It is high time
that we had this work well in hand.
Now, then, to the work, all of us.

Mailly's answer, in his Toledo "So-
cialist," to Berger's charge, in his Mil-
waukee "Social Democratic Herald,"
that the former had grafted on the na-
tional committee by employing his wife
at ten dollars a week and concealing the
fact in his financial report—is crushing.
It is a typical answer from the pri-
vately-owned "Socialist" party press. The
answer consists in a double column, al-
most full-page long article, in which
the charge is wholly ignored, and Berger
is gone for on such irrelevant matter as
his alleged Hearstism.

DAILY PEOPLE FESTIVAL,

Grand Central Palace, Lexington ave.,
43rd and 44th street, N. Y. City, Thurs-
day, November 30, (Thanksgiving Day).
Don't fail to attend.

A. SPINRAD—NEXT!

Elsewhere in this issue will be found
what purports to be a criticism of the
statistical portion of the Minneapolis
address on "The Preamble of the Indus-
trial Workers of the World," re-
cently published in these columns. The
critic, a Mr. A. Spinrad, jauntily pro-
nounces the figures given in the address
an attempt to "deceive the working-
men," to "grossly deceive them"; he
claims the arguments contain "ridiculous
intimations," that they are a "flagrant
misapplication of figures"; finally, that
they are an "affront to the intelligence"
of "sane men"—he being, of course, one
of the "intelligent" and "sane."

Mr. Spinrad, it will be noticed by
reading his criticism, makes just two
points.

The first point made relates to the
question of the share or percentage of
Labor. In the address it is figured that the
share of the Working Class in 1900 was, in
round figures, 17 per cent. of the product
of its labor. Mr. Spinrad gives this
statement the lie. He takes the in-
stance of a baker. Says he: The master
baker sells the loaf for 10 cents and the
journeyman baker receives 2; is it cor-
rect to say that the percentage of the
journeyman baker is 20 and the percent-
age of the master baker 80? No! Re-
member, argues our "intelligent and
sane" critic, that the master baker
has to pay for the wheat from which
the flour is ground.—The answer to all
this is: The first requirement for in-
telligent and sane criticism is the careful
reading of the thing criticised. There is
not a line, or a word, in that part of
the address to justify the error into which
Mr. Spinrad falls, to wit, that the in-
dividual workingman, or the individual
capitalist, is under the microscope. It is
clearly brought out throughout that pas-
sage that, not the individual working-
man, but the Working Class, not the
individual capitalist, but the Capitalist
Class is being considered. Unquestion-
ably, it would be an error, in the in-
stance cited, to say that that particular
journeyman baker was plundered out of
80 per cent of the product of HIS labor,
or that that particular capitalist
HIMSELF pocketed 80 per cent of the
cost of the loaf of bread. That partic-
ular journeyman baker could not be
plundered to the amount of 80 per cent
of the value of the loaf, because into
the value of that loaf went the labor of
the wheat-raiser, of the flour-grinder, the
transportation and other labor, in none
of which he took a share; nor could that
particular master baker have pocketed
that 80 per cent as his gains, because he
had to purchase the flour and thus paid
for the labor of producing it, transport-
ing it, etc. When that loaf of bread
leaped into existence, ready for consump-
tion, it was not the product of any one
individual workingman, or individual
craft. It was the joint product of a
number of crafts and craftsmen that
worked successively upon the raw materi-
al that went into the composition of the
loaf. When that loaf appeared, and
could be got for 10 cents, it contained
the crystallized labor of ALL these
crafts. In each of its successive stages
there was laid up an additional deposit
of plunder: at each stage the material
that was turned out contained fresh
values, produced by, but not paid to the
workingman: at each stage the amount
of unpaid-for labor was thus increased.
When the loaf was finally sold for 10
cents, the total plunder was larger than
the last recorded plunder which was
levied upon the journeyman baker. That
aggregate plunder was not levied by any
one employer, it was levied by all, by
the CAPITALIST CLASS: that aggre-
gate plunder was sustained, not by the
journeyman baker alone, it was sus-
tained by the WORKING CLASS. The
bulk of that 10 cents is plunder—not
INDIVIDUAL but CLASS plunder. The
figures on the poster, quoted in the ad-
dress, contain, not in separate, but in
dissolved state, so to speak, the class
plunder levied upon the Working Class
in the manufacturing and mechanical
industries. That plunder is correctly and
mildly put at 83 per cent of Labor's
share.

There is a loop-hole through which the
Spinrads may here try to slip. They
may, perceiving the fallacy of their in-
dividual journeyman baker's illustration,
say: "Very well; the conclusion in the
address concerning the 83 per cent of
plunder levied by the Capitalist Class is
wrong even then. It would be right if
the manufacturing and mechanical
Working Class worked only on articles
themselves only. But these workmen
have to work upon raw materials raised
upon farms"; and, falling back upon
their baker-shop illustration, the Spin-
rads may, like the "intelligent and sane"
people that they are, proceed to clinch
their point with the argument: "the
figures on the poster, quoted in the ad-
dress, say nothing concerning the values
of agricultural products or the wages
there paid." This would be a clincher, in-

deed, only if the Spinrads dared go fur-
ther and claim that wages are higher in
agriculture than in manufacture. Obvi-
ously, if wages ranked higher on the farm
than in the mill, the conclusion in the
address would be false, "deceptive,"
"flagrantly deceptive," an "affront to the
intelligent and sane," etc. It so hap-
pens, however, that agricultural labor is
notoriously the worst paid. Not only is
it not higher than, not only is it not
equal to, but it is savagely below in-
dustrial earnings. The address, accord-
ingly, by taking the best paid branch of
Labor as standard, presented the condi-
tion of the whole Working Class in the
best possible light. Seeing that the pos-
ter said nothing concerning agri-
cultural wealth and wages, the address
left that untouched. It did so relying
upon the general knowledge on the
subject—also relying upon the "intelli-
gent and sane" Spinrads to afford the
speaker, as our jauntily critic now does,
opportunity to bring out the fact that
conditions are even worse than they ap-
pear from the figures given by the
poster.

The second point made by Mr. Spinrad
is that, to estimate the share of Labor
from the figures given by the poster on
wages, is wrong because "salaries" are
not included. He asks "are not clerk
and office hire 'labor'?" and he proceeds
to give a sample of his "intelligence and
sane" by quoting, not Census figures,
but New York World Almanac estimates,
and then caps the climax of "intelligence
and sanity" by accepting all these "sal-
aries" as "wages."—To that the answer
is:

First. One Depew's or McCurdy's "sal-
ary" is larger than the combined wages
of whole raft of their clerks engaged in
office work. The Depew and McCurdy's
have a way of calling "wages" the plun-
der which they grab under the title of
"salary," and of calling themselves
"labor" by virtue of their drawing such
"wages." And their statisticians
act obedient to the fraud. The
"intelligent and sane" Spinrads
may fall into the trap, or may
like to accept such claims: the "unin-
telligent and insane" Socialist repels the
imposition. The "salaries," that presi-
dents, directors, etc., of the large capi-
talist concerns pocket, are not wages. These
salaries are plunder that they levy upon
those of their fellow stock-holders who
are not themselves wealthy enough to
become directors and run the concern.
These salaries, like taxes and other
things which Mr. Spinrad wrongly de-
ducts from the capitalist plunder, a plun-
der levied upon other plunderers. That
is the secret of the recent rumpus among
the insurance magnates, and of the peri-
odical rumpuses that break out among
railroad and other magnates. It requires
a curious grade of "intelligence and
sanity" to accept the grotesque claim of
these sublimated plunderers that they are
"labor" and that these so-called salaries,
pocketed for doing nothing, are "wages."

Second. There ARE clerks doing office
work, and who ARE wage-earners. The
earnings of these do properly belong in
an estimate of wages. But these earnings
are entitled to consideration only if they
would materially affect conclusions.
They do not. For one thing, the total
number of clerks, including bookkeepers
and accountants, given in the Census for
1900, is 885,007, in other words an insig-
nificant figure when compared with the
many millions of the other wage slaves,
so-called handworkers; for another
thing, the total wages of these real office
workers, after the "wages" of the De-
pew-McCurdy class have been deducted,
is too slim a sum for consideration.

Third. The taking up of the clerks,
etc., would require the thorough handling
of another feature of capitalism—its
wastefulness. It is no legitimate picture
of the situation to deduct from the capi-
talist plunder the amounts that the in-
herent wrongfulness of capitalism
compels it to expend. Directly
productive labor will rise in num-
bers under civilized conditions; service-
labor of the kind required by competitive
commerce is wasteful labor that civilized
conditions will reduce to a minimum.

The reasoning and figures in the ad-
dress on "The Preamble of the Industrial
Workers of the World" are confirmed by
the critique of Mr. Spinrad. Mr. Spinrad
elegantly says that Socialists lie. Who-
ever may be the liar in the premises,
it is not the Socialist.—Next!

The New York "Commercial," Stand-
ard Oil organ, is talking out of school
again. Says it:

"The French cotton spinners told
President Loubet they were going to
cope against the American speculator
with statistics. They better get some-
body to put a few francs into the pool.
Our statisticians can prove that the
world is either round or square by the
same set of figures."

It will not do to let the truth of that
last sentence take possession of the
minds of the workers. They will then
free themselves from the thrall of the
fake statistics of capitalism.



UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN

Brother Jonathan—It does seem to me
that there is something decidedly per-
verse in Socialism.

Uncle Sam—That's something new. As
a rule Socialism is sniffed at because it
is taken to be too angelic.

B. J.—I don't think it ought to be
sniffed at; what ought to be done to it
is to burn it out.

U. S.—That's severe. And why this
severity?

B. J.—I'll tell you. There are, thou-
sands upon thousands of people, na-
hundreds of thousands who are conte-
with their lot, and submissive to t
existing order of things. I don't say th
are as happy as I'd like to see them. B
they are happy now with their lo
Down comes Socialism upon them, stir
the discontent, and turns their happiness
into unhappiness. I say that such a
thing is perverse.

U. S.—Let's see. You can't fly. You
are perfectly happy with your legs for
locomotion; down comes somebody upon
you and descends upon the great pleas-
ures that you could enjoy if you only
had wings, besides legs, and could fly;
and he prevails upon you so much and
he impresses you to such an extent with
his arguments about the pleasures you
are foregoing for want of wings that
you cease to enjoy your legs and actu-
ally grow miserable.

B. J.—Bravo, well put!

U. S.—And your understanding of the
effect of Socialist agitation is of the
nature of such agitation for wings?

B. J.—Exactly! Now is not that per-
verse?

U. S.—Yes; THAT would indeed be
perverse; but such is not Socialist agita-
tion.

B. J.—What else is it?

U. S.—Now let's suppose this state of
things: You imagine you are in good
health, and are happy in that; never-
theless it is only appearance; there is
death gnawing at your vitals; you have
a tapeworm inside of you sucking up
the substance of your nourishment and
undermining your health; at times you
feel a sense of lassitude, but you get
over that, your recuperative powers
not yet having lost their elasticity, and
you preserve your happiness. Some
knowing one comes along and discovers
the evidence of the mischievous parasite
inside of you; he tells you of it; informs
you of your danger, and thoroughly
arouses you out of your ignorance on
your condition into a thorough appre-
ciation of the danger you are in. Has
he not "destroyed your happiness?"

B. J.—He has for the moment; but
for my own good. What he tells me
makes me take measures to rid myself
of the parasite within me, and to be-
come positively happy.

U. S.—And that is good?

B. J.—Certainly!

U. S.—And such is the case with So-
cialism; and that is what it does for
those who enjoy the happiness of stu-
por, are disturbed therein, and aroused
to rid themselves of a danger not un-
derstood by them, but sure to undo them
if not overthrown.

B. J.—What danger?

U. S.—The danger of the existing of
a capitalist system. More insidiously

CORRESPONDENCE

CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COMMUNICATIONS, BESIDES THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS. NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.

VEAL'S IMPRESSIONS OF NEW JERSEY.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Having recently made a two weeks' agitation tour in New Jersey, I wish to give a little account of my impressions of conditions there. While the State is not very large in territory it is a big state industrially. Its industries are varied, some of them very highly developed; others rapidly developing. From my knowledge of the country, I should say that no state in the Union offers a better outlook for our movement than New Jersey.

But it seems to me that as yet very few of our class have been reached in that state. I do not say this in disparagement of our Party organization there. The Party has had a severe fight to hold a position; it has held it, and many outside the ranks are coming to see that the Party's position is the right one.

Now that the Party's position is secure, and has earned the respect of the working class, it is the duty of the organization to sound an advance all along the line. Election day has passed, and the capitalist class have given us "our" returns. Well, we may accept it as a certain amount of expression allowed us by that class, but we do not accept it as the entire vote of the Socialist Labor Party. I was in Hoboken on election day, and at a polling place where a Party member went to cast his vote, he was not given an S. L. P. ballot until he made a kick for it. But as said before election day is passed. What to do NOW—that is the thing.

From what I have seen in New Jersey the answer is plain. We must push Industrial Unionism for all we are worth. Socialist unionism must enter the shops and wake up the wage slaves. Yes, comrades, there are thousands of workmen in New Jersey, and not there alone, who stand in an abject dread of the boss as any chattel slave who felt the sting of the whip. And with their lack of knowledge, what else is to be expected? The boss of the big silk mill, of the big sewing machine works, etc., etc., is the master of the bread. At his nod they work and get a bite for themselves, and families; should he frown they are terror-stricken; should he turn them away want and despair face them at once. Comrades, carry into the shops where you work the message of Industrial Unionism, organize the Industrial Workers of the World. Fear no man, be not afraid and you will fan into flame that wonderful ember, Class Consciousness, that lives, though smothered, in the breast of every true workman. Go into the I. W. W. with all your energy. We have the knowledge to impart that will emancipate our class, and having that, knowledge our duty in the premises stands out plain as a pike staff.

While I met many fine comrades in New Jersey I cannot close without touching upon one section which, as a whole, is an exceptional one. That is Passaic County with headquarters in Paterson. I have not before met a group of comrades who are so well drilled and energetic as the Paterson comrades. The secret of it, I think, is that they are educating, not only the outsider, but themselves as well, right along. They keep up educational meetings at which some pamphlet is read and discussed. Outsiders are brought to hear the discussions, they become educated and join in the work. The organization attends to every detail right to the dot; I learn from The People business office that Paterson is by far the banner city for Weekly People readers in New Jersey. And so it is all along the line. They understand Industrial Unionism thoroughly and are working for it. When all New Jersey towns have a bunch of men like these comrades of Paterson, the cold chills will run down the spine of the capitalist class.

Philip Veal.

New York, November 11.

WORTHY OF INITIATION.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Eleven of the workers in the shop I am in, have organized a book club. Each contributes ten cents a week and gets a book in turn. This plan makes it possible to get books without feeling the expense very much. It depends upon the promoter of the club to make a success of it by seeing to the collections and selecting good reading.

J. B.

Chicago, October 9.

USING REACTION TO CATCH VOTES.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The enclosed circular will give the readers of The People an idea of how the candidates of bogus Socialism bait their

hooks to catch suckers to cast their ballots for them. They brag about their increased vote and smile derisively at the small vote of the S. L. P. But can any common sense man, be he a Socialist or not, put forward the claim that a vote cast for a man advocating such a principle as embodied in the enclosed circular is a vote for Socialism?

But what does that matter to these fellows; it is the vote and the vote only that counts with them.

To educate the workers into a class conscious understanding, that these mergers will go on in spite of "the vote," until the working class takes and holds their own and ousts the capitalist should be the aim of every one who calls himself a Socialist.

Note how glibly Mr. Turner talks about the prosperity of "our city." "Our city," indeed. Who does he mean by "our"? The working class? Oh, no, it is the class to which he and all his ilk cater, the fast dying middle class. I am only sorry to say that Mr. Turner failed to be elected; for the more of his kind there can be put into the legislative halls of the country the easier it will be to show the rank and file of the "Socialist" party the fallacy of expecting a social revolution under the leadership of men of his kind.

S. V. Krouthen.

So. Boston, November 11.

[Enclosure.]

Dear Sir:

The present Street Railway fares from Boston to Quincy are excessive and disproportionate to the rates charged for similar distances in other directions.

These unfair conditions inflict constant hardships upon many residents and impede the growth and prosperity of our city. Presuming that you are one of the many citizens who are anxious to secure relief from this burden, I take the liberty to remind you that a Measure known as Senate Bill No. 280 now pending in the General Court provides for the consolidation of all Steam and Electric roads in this State making one gigantic trust or "Merger."

This bill was introduced during the last session of the Legislature; it was referred to the session of 1906. If this measure is enacted into law it will not only cancel all hopes for a reduction of fares, but will, it is reasonable to assume, increase our present burdensome rates. Great efforts should be made to secure the defeat of this bill by electing representatives positively pledged to fight against it by voice and vote. As a candidate in this district for representation, I stand pledged unalterably in opposition to this oppressive bill. If elected I shall exert my utmost efforts to secure the passage of such necessary legislation as will in the future make compulsory the submission of all such measures as this "Merger bill" to a referendum vote of all the citizens, a right and privilege enjoyed in many of the states of this union. If the voters of this district will give me their political support I will promise also to investigate the reasons why the residents of Quincy cannot ride to Boston for the rate of fare which is paid by the residents of other cities and towns within a corresponding distance.

Yours respectfully,

Levi H. Turner.

Candidate of the Socialist Party for Representative.

AN INTERESTED AND INTERESTING SECTION.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Section Passaic County, S. L. P., held its regular educational class session this evening. There was a large attendance. The editorial in to-day's Daily People was read and debated. After two of the comrades had expressed themselves, the chair was taxed to keep tab on whom the floor belonged. The result was an animated and enlightening discussion on the New York contest, and the influence likely to flow therefrom.

Next Friday evening the study of "Value, Price and Profit" will be begun. Each member of the class is expected to answer questions proposed by the demonstrator on the lesson. If any comrade wishes to know what we are doing in Paterson let him or her take a trip to our town any Friday evening. The meeting room is at Helvetia Hall (top floor), 54 and 56 Van Houten street.

The election returns from fifteen of the forty districts in the city give the S. L. P. 189. The county contains: Paterson, forty districts; Passaic, twelve; townships, eight; boroughs, five; total, sixty-five.

R. Berdan.

Paterson, N. J., November 10.

SENTIMENTAL SOCIALISM.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Returning one evening last winter from a Labor Lyceum meeting held by an S. L. P. section, the writer was accompanied by a friend of Auld Lang Syne, whom he met there, and as the intimacy was sufficient to justify criticism, severe as well as personal, it took the form of accusation: "Comrade, you spoke well in the discussion; but not to advantage. You are too serious and sentimental. What the deuce have quotations from Shakespeare or even from the scriptures got to do with economics? Cut it out and give us mathematical facts and you will keep us more that way."

My vocal powers were for the time paralyzed and mute from this ponderous indictment, and I fell into a brown study. Memory reverted to the village academy of thirty odd years ago, when I certainly did learn of Adam Smith and of political and moral economy, of algebra, geometry, and trigonometry, enough, perhaps, to talk about, and impress a listener that I knew much more, if I only choose to tell it. Another memory followed, of the village grocery store, where, as a humble wage worker, I learned to solve such intricate problems, mathematical and financial, as consisted in measuring five pecks out of a bushel of potatoes; and to purchase a barrel of sugar at the voidpouise weight, sixteen ounces to the pound, and to weigh out at retail by the apothecary's weight of twelve ounces each—that being a palpable pound in its own environment and opportunity—and so exploit the guileless village proletariat. The musty maxim of "no sentiment in business" was as potent then as to-day. "Get all you can" from the victims; "return the least possible" and the result is profit. And profit is the shrine at which we worship.

But the Nazareth Carpenter taught a different philosophy: "Give and it shall be given you": good measure, heaped up, pressed down, and running over. It was Shakespeare who wrote of the "labor we delight in, physics pain." And so I answer the scoffer who asks: "In your system, will not every fellow want the soft, easy job; and none be willing to take the hard one?"—Not so fast, my good sir! There will be no hard jobs in our system. Each will find the task that he is master of; and being master 'twill be but a pleasant and healthful exercise, conducive to sound sleep and hearty digestion, an antidote to pain.

And then the power of voice restored I gave an answer to my friend: Every nation has its ideals. The American people hold the ideal of the Christian faith: the ideal of bearing each others burdens. Shall the Socialist ignore the ideal or forget to yield it sympathy and due respect?—Will repetition of its precepts to indicate the proletarian character of him who chose his comrades from the humble toilers of the sea, who spake rebuke to the young plutocrat: "Go sell thy goods and restore to them from whom it was defrauded"—will such sentiment be a hindrance to seekers for the truth and light?

Nay, nay, my comrade, I will not for yet a while discard those trusty weapons, sympathy, and sentiment. They served the cause of ore and will again me think. Therefore, Bid Paul the economic to plant most diligently while Apollo of the sentiment shall water faithfully; and great will be the increase of the bountiful harvests we will gather in the promised land of economic equity; in the day of the Socialist Republic, the Co-operative Commonwealth.

G. W. Tracy.

Syracuse, N. Y., November 12.

HOW PROF. CLINEY BOUGHT "WHAT MEANS THIS STRIKE?" AND SET A GOOD EXAMPLE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Yesterday morning I took a trip up to the Trinity College, accompanied by a stock of New York Labor News Company literature. Arriving on the college plaza I started to interview the boys, calling their attention as follows:

"Gentlemen, I represent the New York Labor News Company and have a five cent book here called: 'What Means This Strike?' containing an address delivered to the working class of New Bedford, Mass., by Daniel De Leon."

Thereupon the students surrounded me and one fellow said: "Ain't you one of the fellers that spoke for the Industrial Workers of the World at the corner of Park and Broad streets, recently?"

"Yes," I replied.

"Well," says he, "you people are prejudiced."

"In what way?" I asked him.

"You didn't answer our questions then very satisfactory!"

"Didn't our answers satisfy the working class in that neighborhood?"

"You're against the rich too much, as if they didn't have any rights."

Then I told him that the capitalists are raising a prejudice against themselves by doing "missionary" work with insurance funds.

Next I told him to fire questions if he had any and he replied that he hadn't

any now!

Then the boys laughed at him and invited me to go into the class rooms where lectures on economics were about to be given by Professors Cliney and Morton. Escorted by the crowd I was soon ushered up to Professor Cliney, who rapped for order, whereupon I showed him the book "What Means This Strike?" stating it was a short address on the historical and economic labor movement of this country.

The professor replied by digging down in his pocket for a wallet as old as some of the economic books he lectured on; and handed me five cents saying that he would read it thoroughly!

Then the boys started to purchase the same pamphlet and I sold \$2.00 worth! As I was leaving the place, in front of the dormitory, some "missionary" son threw some water at me, which landed on my arm, but nevertheless did not dampen my feelings of success!

Was I serenaded or hazed?

Samuel Stodell.

Hartford, Conn., November 10.

STRAINING AT GNATS AND SWALLOWING CAMELS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The following clippings are from the "Christian Endeavor World," of October 12, 1905, which, I presume, the official organ of the Christian Endeavor Society. The two, taken together, give one an insight into what was designated by Senator Beveridge as "one of the greatest forces for good in the world."

In the first we read the following question and answer:

"876. What do you think of the custom, when one is at home but does not wish to see a caller, to send word that one is not at home?"

Washington Reader.

"It is simply a lie. The fact that the customs of society excuse it, and that it is commonly understood to mean either that the person is not at home, or that the person is engaged and does not wish to see a caller, makes no difference as to the fact. If one is engaged and cannot see a caller, that message should be sent, and not a false message."

The editor strains frightfully at the gnat of a trifling conventionality, and in the second, in which it is apparent that a question has arisen in the mind of the correspondent as to the justice of the system under which we live, he swallows a camel. Here it is:

"872. Please give proof, scriptural, if possible, that a man has a right to own land and other property, and work for a reasonable amount of this world's goods."

J. G. B.

Percy, Ill.

"I do not think it necessary to give proof, but, rather, I should require proof of the opposite statement. There is nothing in the Bible that would forbid the owning of property and working for wages. The single statement that the disciples at Jerusalem had all things in common is not to be taken as a command; and, indeed, this condition at Jerusalem was only temporary, and to meet that particular emergency."

The good man thus swallows the whole of Capitalism without so much as batting an eye.

H. J. Brimble.

Florence, Colo., November 10.

YOUNG MEN, AGITATE, EDUCATE AND ORGANIZE!

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Last night we organized a society, perhaps the first of its kind in the history of the S. L. P. movement in Ohio. The purpose of our organization is to familiarize young men with the idea of Socialism, to study its classics, and to develop agitators for this great cause. We named our organization "The Young Men's Educational Club"—a name very appropriate to it: for young men we are, and to educate we aim and shall certainly exert our utmost to accomplish it. Although our attendance was not large at the first time, it was more than compensated by the interest each one took in the proceedings. The meeting was very successful. We read and discussed "The Manifesto", under the direction of Comrades James and Burt Ruggs. We shall meet every Friday night at 476½ Pearl street, and invite every honest young man, who wants to know and study Socialism, to join us.

We wish to express our gratitude to the Hungarian Branch S. L. P. for giving us their headquarters for permanent use. Let this our work serve as a suggestion to all the comrades throughout the country. Organize, teach, and agitate our young men! Let these organizations form the modern powerful anti-slavery guns, which will strike down the ranks of the capitalists, never to rise again!

Yours fraternally,

Isidore Zwick, Rec. Sec'y.

Cleveland, O., Nov. 13.

Watch the label on your paper. That will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third the year.

AN EDITORIAL MIS-STATEMENT CORRECTED.

(Copy of a letter addressed to the Editor of the Dayton "Daily News.") Dayton, Ohio, Friday, Nov. 10, 1905. "Not one vote was cast against any man's going to work and making a living."

Editor Dayton "Daily News,"

Dayton, Ohio,

Dear Sir:

Above you will find an article clipped from the bottom of the editorial column of to-day's issue of the "News" with which I beg to differ and with which an ever larger proportion of our people will differ as they come to know just what we free American citizens do vote for on each recurring election day.

I may say, with absolute assurance of being able to demonstrate my position, that the statement contained in that article is utterly false.

Do not understand me by this to mean that the editor would deliberately utter a falsehood upon so grave a matter that involves the livelihood, the well-being, the happiness, and, in many, many instances, the lives of our people.

Man, in all ages and in all places, is dependent upon the system of industry in vogue in that age and at that place for the method by which he shall obtain the right to "go to work to make a living." In the savage ages and in savage places, when and where man and the land and all known instruments of production are free, man is free to work for a living by hunting and fishing and by practicing whatever of agriculture he may know and by manufacturing whatever of clothing and utensils for himself that he may require.

And from that time and condition we can easily trace the various systems of industry successively in vogue through the barbarous and feudal ages down to our present age and country, wherein the land, originally free and without any other right of tenure save that of use, has come into the possession of a small proportion of our people; and the machinery or tools of production, invented and manufactured by the working class, has also come into possession of these same people, known as the capitalist class; and the situation NOW IS that the working class cannot work for a living unless some member of the capitalist class who owns the land, originally free, and the tool, invented and made by the working class, will permit him to do so.

This capitalist class has come into possession of the land and tools through the instrumentality of his government. That is what government is for, to enable the ruling class to rob and keep in subjection, legally, of course, the class that alone produces wealth, and that government is maintained through the Republican and Democratic and the various reform parties; so that every vote cast for those parties was a vote to perpetuate the present system of industry, viz: the capitalist system, WHEREIN THE COURTS HAVE TIME AND TIME AGAIN DECIDED THAT MAN HAS NO RIGHT TO EMPLOYMENT.

The only people who voted for "man's right to go to work to make a living" were those who voted for the Socialist Labor Party; which party alone stands upon the principle of man's right to labor and to own the whole product of that labor.

Trusting that I have made this matter so clear to you that you will correct the mis-statement in the above editorial, I am yours very truly,

J. R. Fraser.

A "GUARDIAN" WHO DOES NOT GUARD.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—The S. L. P. and I. W. W. organizes the white, black and yellow slaves for their final emancipation. The capitalist class divides them for their common enslavement. There are white labor fakirs and white capitalist politicians and a white capitalist press and there are also colored labor fakirs, colored capitalist politicians and a colored capitalist press.

One of these colored presses that leads the colored working class to the capitalist shambles is the "Guardian" in Boston. It pretends to be the "Guardian of the negro interests," but you shall see in what manner. And which "negro's interests" it guards.

I sent before the election a letter to the "Guardian," in which I explained the reason why the colored workers ought to join the S. L. P. and I. W. W., vote for their emancipation and "take and hold" the land and the means of production, to which THEY ALONE have a right in common with the white workers.

I analyzed in a clear manner the enslaving mechanism of capitalism and proved that the interests of the colored workers are identical with those of the white workers and the interest of colored workers are opposed to those of colored and white capitalists and the interests of white workers are opposed to those of white and colored capitalists. I looked week after week, the letter failed to ap-

LETTER-BOX

OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

S. L. D., MADISON, WIS.—The workingman does more than to produce new values for the capitalist. He also preserves for the capitalist the value of the latter's machinery. Machinery, not in operation, deteriorates. When it is in operation it passes its value to the product. This value goes into the value of the goods, and is recovered by the capitalist. Marx quotes in a foot-note an English capitalist who estimated at 1,200 pounds sterling the loss that he sustained through the deterioration of his machinery during a stoppage of work. When closely looked into this fact discloses an additional source of labor exploitation. The workingman receives nothing whatever for this incidental service that he renders the employer.

D. I. W., HELENA, MONT.—The capitalist system can simply not work without there is a large reserve army of unemployed. These must be there, ready to be had, at periods of expansion. For them to be "ready to be had" they must be unemployed, that is starving. They are periodically laid on the shelf, when not needed, and taken off the shelf, when needed, like summer and winter clothes. In other words, capitalist society is corner-stoned on wide-spread human suffering. Think ye the "Christian ministers" are unaware of this fact? Yet they wink at the horror—Why?

H. I. N., CINCINNATI, O.—The 1900 Census gives 114,460 lawyers, of whom 1,010 are women.

W. O. F., WASHINGTON, D. C.—The watch-dogs of capitalism in the pure and simple so-called Unions growl and snap the moment they hear Socialist economic preaching. The watch-dogs of the A. F. of L., who are A. F. of Lites first and Socialists afterwards, growl and snap the moment they hear Socialist Unionism, that is the I. W. W., preached. Where is the difference between the two watch-dogs?

R. McD., BUFFALO, N. Y.—First. The amount of money (coin and paper) now in circulation in the country is \$2,519,142,800.

Second. The wealth of the country, exclusive of money, is variously estimated to be between 94 and 95 billions worth of dollars.

Third. Tom Paine's "Age of Reason" has never been answered.

per. Now, I want to know does it interest the colored worker more to know what Roosevelt says, how Alice Roosevelt wears her corsets and what some capitalist politician stupidly utters than to know how to vote for his emancipation from capitalist cannibalism? Whose interests do you guard, O "Guardian"? The negro workingman's interests or the "negro idler's (capitalist's) interests?"

I know, Mr. Editor of the "Guardian," you are too busy with misleading your race (the proletariat part of it) into the belief that the Republican ultra-capitalist party is their "friend" and tell them all kinds of funny stories, so that they forget about their conditions of abject slavery and work to feed and fatten the class which pays you to do the dirty work (two to one you have been a proletarian, too, but now you are a traitor to your class), so please return the correspondence to the office of the Daily People, 2-6 New Reade street, N.Y. Here it will be published because this is the organ of the white and colored wage slaves!

With revolutionary S. L. P. greetings, Henry Fuehrer.

Cincinnati, O., November 15.

THE BALLOT AND THE PARTY.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—We are slightly disfigured, but still in the ring. Our vote has fallen off some, whereas the membership of our Section has increased. One new member in our Section is worth more than an increase of 200 votes at the ballot box. What does a voter for the revolutionary cause amount to any way if he is not an active member of our party? While balloting is a good thing a real live organization is more essential. Without that to back up the ballot, the ballot will be merely an expression of opposition.

Last year the Socialist Labor Party polled 113 votes; this fall our highest vote on our State ticket was 129, our lowest vote sixty-six. The "Socialist Party" last fall had 777, this fall their candidate polled 424. Their highest vote was 500—quite a slump.

From now on and for some time to come I shall only count as actual votes the membership in our Section. Just so long as the American working class is not organized in an economic union based on the class struggle, just so long will the working class find itself between the devil and the deep sea.

Otto Steinhoff.

Columbus, Ohio, November 10.

A. C. V., CLEVELAND, O.—We are under the impression that there is a Bohemian translation of Eugene Sue's works.

F. H., SOUTH OMAHA, NEB.—The unique iniquity of chattel slavery, think ye, was that the Southern whites had children from their female slaves, and these children were kept in bondage? Nothing "unique" in that. It is an iniquity shared by wage slavery. Look at the raft of foundlings and other waifs in capitalist society. Stacks of them are the progeny of capitalists from female wage slaves. Are these children not kept in the bondage of wage slavery? Why, they are sold by the car-loads—"apprenticed" is the sweet term—to farmers and other employers in the West, or are wage slaves right at home. The only improvement in wage slavery over our chattel slavery is that society can not stop from the latter but only from the former into the Socialist Republic.

A. O. G., ANADA, CAL.—The member of the General Executive Board of the I. W. W. referred to must be Cronin. He voted against adopting the constitution. He afterwards, however, voted to incorporate his organization, the A. L. U., in the I. W. W. Upon the strength of that, and his pledge of fidelity he was elected. The S. T. & L. A. delegation did not vote for him.

R. E., NEW ORLEANS, LA.—True enough, protection helped capitalism along. It may be said to have been one of the artificial means that boosted the capitalist into existence. It does not follow from that that the abolition of the tariff will bring down the capitalist. The putting out of the fire in the oven does not destroy the bread that was just baked in it. It is a free trade lie that the abolition of the tariff would destroy the Trusts. It may destroy some; but even these will re-rise, only upon international basis. The tariff, no more than the expropriation of the peasantry from their lands, created the capitalist: the only difference is that, without the tariff and such expropriations and such other appliances and means to boot, the process of capitalist-building would have been infinitely slower.

A. E. N., SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.—There is no such passage or charge in the address. The way to handle such backbiters is to demand of them to put their finger upon the alleged passage. We never heard of a Congress for the prevention of the growth of Socialism. Could never have referred to any.

A. H., BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Trautmann was not expelled from the Brewer's Union. He was expelled or removed from the editorship of the Bauer-Zeitung. This was done because he took part in the Chicago conference which issued the Industrialist Manifesto. The Executive Committee ordered a referendum, he was sustained, but counted out.

F. S., TOLEDO, O.—Bee don't produce an abstraction of honey: they do not produce "honeyism": they produce HONEY. Hence they labor collectively and deposit their product, not in individual deposits, but in a collective hive. If Socialist papers were expected to produce an abstract idea, they might each be set up as a privately-owned concern. The true mission of a true Socialist paper is, however, different. It is to gather the thing, not the abstraction. Hence it must be in the nature of a hive—owned by all the Socialist bees.

F. D., MILWAUKEE, WIS.—He who believes in municipal ownership under capitalism puts his foot into his mouth if, in the same breath, he seeks to smash the Trusts.

J. B. C., NEW ORLEANS, LA.—First. The Socialist Labor Party, not being a lunatic asylum, never vouched for the class-consciousness of its vote. He must be a lunatic who would vouch for the quality of thousands of votes cast by people whom he does not know from Adam. What the S. L. P. has vouched for and does vouch for is the class-consciousness of its organization. You are unable to point to a single act of the S. L. P. with a flaw in that. It fuses with neither capitalist politicians, nor bourgeois policies, nor yet with the Civic Federationized A. F. of L.—There goes one-half of the bottom from under your reasoning that, because the S. L. P. as well as the A. F. of L. Volkszeitung Corporation Party lost heavily at this election, therefore, the two are of the "same clay."

Second. The said A. F. of L. Volkszeitung Corporation party has made it its special brag that its vote was large and ever larger; it made that an argument why it and not the S. L. P. should be supported; and it used that as a "proof" of its superiority. It furthermore claimed that all that is wanted is votes, and never mind the condition of the

(Continued on page 6.)

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

Henry Kuhn, Secretary, 2-6 New Reade street, New York.

S. L. P. OF CANADA.

National Secretary, 361 Richmond st., London, Ont.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.

2-6 New Reade street, New York City (The Party's literary agency.)

Notice: For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

N. E. C. SUB-COMMITTEE.

Regular meeting held at 2-6 New Reade street, New York, November 17, 1905. Present: Crawford, Gillhaus, Hosack, Lechner, Olson and Teichlauf, Gillhaus chairman.

Financial report for week ending November 11: receipts, \$57.39; expenditures, \$45.98.

Press Committee reported progress.

Organization and Agitation Committee reported on the draft of by-laws submitted by Massachusetts General Committee. National Secretary instructed to return the draft with a letter embodying a few changes needed to bring the document in harmony with the Party Constitution.

Communications: From R. W. Stevens, on Veal stopping there on agitation tour; from Kleiminger, Chicago, on I. W. W. matters and stating three new members joined Section; from P. Christiansen, member N. E. C. from Ohio; A. S. Dowler, N. E. C. member from Texas; and Jos. Marek, the Connecticut member: on the protest of Comrade Janke, Indianapolis, against certain ads in Weekly People which protest was referred to N. E. C. for action; from B. H. Williams, general organizer, reporting from Eureka, Cal., had a busy and successful week, strong interest aroused for Industrial Unionism, was ably assisted by Party members; held four street meetings, four I. W. W. meetings; from Organizer Young, of Section Douglas, Arizona, I. W. W. organized there with twenty-three men, more to come; Comrade Brandborg, of Underwood, N. D., on condition in Portland, Oregon, which place he has just left. He says the free speech fight will be carried on by the Section.

The Sub-Committee instructed its Press Committee to see that the Audit Committee, appointed by the N. E. C., has financial report of the Party Press ready for next meeting of the N. E. C. Other action by the Sub-Committee provides for the sending out of Comrade Gillhaus on agitation and organization work. Gillhaus will begin in Binghamton, N. Y., thence through a portion of Pennsylvania working south and west.

Secretary.

MICHIGAN STATE COMMITTEE.

The regular meeting of the Michigan State Committee, S. L. P., at Room 10, Ave Theater Bld., Nov. 16. Smith in chair. Geo. Hassler, A. Tabinski, G. Tudulski, C. Schmitt and H. Richter present. Absent without excuse: I. Goldberg and E. Barstow. As E. Barstow has not attended any meeting since his election nor given any reason for his absence, although notified several times, upon motion his seat was declared vacant, and Section Detroit requested to fill vacancy.

Minutes of previous meeting approved. Communications: "from H. Ulbricht, general information. Is willing to take hold of correspondence plan. Laid over to new business. From A. E. Higgins, organizer Section Kalamazoo, general information, forwarding dues and semi-annual report also desires information regarding applicant for membership. Secretary instructed to recommend applicants initiation as a new member. From Wm. Ed. Clement, 418 N. Madison street, Traverse City, Mich., applying for membership-at-large. Admitted and Secretary instructed to forward supplies. From S. B. Cowles, Sand Lake, general information and dues.

New Business: Motion to close nominations for member to N. E. C. and call for vote. H. Richter, nominee. Also to call for vote upon question "Shall Michigan member to N. E. C. attend next meeting of same on first Sunday in January, 1906?" and "Is there any matter you know of, or desire to be brought before N. E. C. meeting?"—vote and matter to be in on or about Dec. 12, 1905.

Secretary reported the organization of a branch of the Hungarian Federation, of 37 members in Delray, by comrades Zipser and Levy.

Secretary was instructed to procure 100 dues stamps, 50 constitutions and 100 application blanks, and warrant ordered drawn for the amount.

Upon motion Henry Ulbricht, 1321 Ames street, Saginaw N. S., Mich., was elected to conduct correspondence plan. All comrades and readers are asked to forward names and addresses of sympathizers of the S. L. P. to him.

Receipts: A. E. Higgins, dues, \$3.00; S. B. Cowles, dues, \$1.44; Wm. E. Clement, dues, 10 cents; total, \$5.04.

Expenditures: Stamps, constitutions

and application blanks, \$8.40. Cash on hand, \$20.45.

Meeting adjourned.

H. Richter, Secretary, Kraft P. O., Mich.

VEAL IN BALTIMORE.

Section Baltimore, S. L. P., will hold a mass meeting in the Labor Lyceum, 1011-1013 E. Baltimore street, Sunday, November 26, 2:30 p. m. Philip Veal, national organizer, will speak on the subject: "Which truly represents the working class, the Industrial Workers of the World, or the American Federation of Labor?"

At the same hall, on Monday, November 27, at 8 p. m., Veal will speak on "Middle Class Municipal Ownership."

Questions will be answered after each address. Readers of The People come and bring your friends! Help make these meetings a success!

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES.

Comrades, you have fallen back again. For the week ending Saturday, October 18th, we received but 193 subscriptions to the Weekly People, and 21 mail subscriptions to the Daily People. Of the total, 214, eight men sent in 80, as follows: R. E. Kortum, St. Louis, 11; Fred Brown, Cleveland, 16; B. H. Williams, Eureka, Calif., 20; J. Smith, Seward, Alaska, 5; E. D. Whalen, Alaska, 6; F. Leitner, San Antonio, Tex., 6; A. Johnson, Juneau, Alaska, 8; and G. Herwath, Detroit, 6 Weekly and 2 Daily.

All honor to the Sections and individual members who keep at this work, but considering how widespread is our organization the total effort made is poor, miserably poor. We are sure that no Party member is pleased or satisfied at this showing and it is up to you to better it. The collective energy of the Party must be exerted toward getting new readers. Considering its great importance, which all comprehend, there should not be this need for us urging on this work.

Section San Antonio, per Leitner, took \$4.75 worth of prepaid subscription cards, and Allegheny County, Pa., per Uhl, took \$10 worth.

We would recommend that more of our Western comrades read the Daily People and thus keep in closer touch with events as they occur. Try it three months and you will thank us for making the suggestion.

LABOR NEWS NOTES.

The sale of literature is picking up a little. The Address on the Preamble of the Industrial Workers of the World, in pamphlet form, is being called for and it is a good one to push at present. General Secretary-Treasurer Trautmann, of the Industrial Workers of the World, ordered 2,000 copies of this pamphlet. The following were among the more important orders received during the past week: Harry Gwynne, Spokane, \$1 worth; A. J. Landry, New Orleans 100 I. W. W. pamphlets; Sam Murray Vallejo, Cal., 100 I. W. W. address; J. Bilow, Chicago, \$2.90 worth of books; F. P. Janke, Indianapolis, 25 Preamble pamphlets; L. C. Haller, Los Angeles, 25 I. W. W. pamphlets; C. H. Ross, Lida, Nev., \$2 worth of books; W. J. Oberding, Goldfield, Nev., \$2 worth books and pamphlets; F. Leitner, San Antonio, 25 Mitchell Exposed; J. E. Lemoine, Goldenbar, Wash., \$7 worth of books; C. Starkenburg, Denver, 1 Infant's Skull; C. P. Lind, Fairbault, Minn., 50 cents worth pamphlets; F. Lighter, Glace Bay, C. B., \$2 for pamphlets and leaflets; Philip Veal, 250 pamphlets and 1,000 leaflets; F. Delmastro, New Haven, Ct., \$3 for pamphlets; F. Schade, Wilkes-Barre, Pa., 97 pamphlets I. W. W.; H. Carlson, Boston, \$1 for books; F. L. Brannick, Auburn, N. Y., 70 cents for pamphlets; J. McGarvey, Newburgh, N. Y., 70 cents pamphlets.

Several of the Classical Literature series were sold, and some orders received for I. W. W. Convention proceedings, which is to appear in book form. The activity reflected in the business of the week shows that the West is hustling.

Considering the importance of the Sue stories as a means to educate the worker in a knowledge of history, the books should go out faster. Those of the comrades who have never seen the plant here should send 25 cents for a copy of illustrated book, which gives a good idea of the Party institutions at headquarters. The Paris Commune by Lisagery, cloth, 50 cents, is timely reading just now.

When you write us always note your address on the letter. If you will do this it will save us lots of bother as we can't remember the address of everyone.

The I. W. W. Club of Philadelphia, has completed arrangements for two big mass meetings with Philip Veal of Illinois, as speaker. Prospects are very bright that at least one chartered local will be the immediate result. The mass meeting takes place Thursday, evening, November 23, at A. T. U. Hall, 232 N. 9th street, and Saturday evening, Nov. 25, at Enterprise Hall, Kensington avenue and B street. Don't miss them. Help distribute handbills and literature, for which apply to L. Katz, 410 Green.

A. F. OF L. CONVENTION

(Continued from page 1.)

istence: "A Nation of Fatherless Children."

Resolutions advocating laws against convict and Chinese labor were also introduced.

The afternoon session began with a resolution from Max Hayes, of Cleveland, calling on the delegates to support the Pittsburgh "Dispatch" as the only union daily in Pittsburgh.

After reading report of committee on secretary's report, convention adjourned till 9 A. M. Thursday.

Fourth Day's Session.

Pittsburg, Nov. 16.—The A. F. of L. convention was opened by Frank Duffy, secretary-treasurer of the Carpenters' Union, giving the pedigree of one P. H. Scullen, who was alleged to be making the organization of so-called Industrial Peace Societies, a side issue to collecting for himself the wherewithal to keep himself in existence.

The next thing came like a bullet, from Anton Johansen, of the Chicago Federation. It was a motion to refuse to accept the \$100 given by H. C. Frick for the entertainment of the A. F. of L. during the convention here, on the ground that it was Homestead blood money. Frick, it will be recollected, conducted the Homestead strike during Carnegie's "absence" abroad.

President Gompers stated that the organization cannot refuse to accept the money; but that individuals could refrain from attending any function paid for by such money.

Johansen then maintained that they were in a bad way if they had to secure their money that way, and was told then that the chair doubted the wisdom of accepting the money.

Johansen was then instructed to put his motion in writing.

This morning's "Dispatch" announces a contribution of \$100 for the same purpose, from George T. Oliver, of the Oliver Iron and Steel Company, which has fought union labor longer and more persistently than any other corporation in Pittsburgh. The papers announce a contribution of \$1,000 for defraying the expenses of the convention from the Pittsburgh Publishers' Association, which is composed of scab daily papers.

Mr. Mosses, fraternal delegate from British Trades Congress, then addressed the convention, saying that he had the distinguished honor of being received by the president of the United States in special interview.

In his review of conditions in English trades unions, Mosses said the unions had decreased 557 in number during the past ten years, but that the membership had increased more than half a million. Mosses asserted that many unions were a curse; what was needed were fewer unions, more unionism. He advised local organization for hours and conditions, federation for mutual support, and general federation for political and economic reasons. He made a plea for the beneficial feature stating that in Great Britain almost all of the dues went to benefits, the management of the organizations costing almost nothing. Jaures of France, it was stated, had complimented the British Trades Council for laws secured. The fraternal delegate further reported that the Taff Vale decision had crippled the trade union as a fighting machine to this day. There is no legal eight-hour day in Great Britain. The United Pattern Makers, of which Mosses is the general secretary, have a nine-hour day, but so many union men persist in working nine hours that no attempt will be made for eight hours until union men cease working overtime.

The fraternal delegate then went into the matter of arbitration and conciliation, starting out with the assertion that he would rather be defeated in open battle than gerrimanded at the conference table; that joint arbitration was worse than useless, and he would never arbitrate unless the arbitrator or president of the arbitration board was a bona fide workman. He denounced arbitration bitterly, and said that in New Zealand it had not been sufficiently tried, but in West Australia it was an absolute failure as it had compelled boiler makers to work with scab and unskilled labor.

Mosses cited the fact that the Conciliation Act had been in existence in Great Britain for nine years and "was the most melancholy incident in the history of the labor movement"; 5,673 strikes in all, and 181 settled; and none of the settled ones of any importance.

Mosses said the union must have as its object to secure to the worker "the full fruits of his toil"; that if fraternal greeting were to end in greeting, "it was time and money wasted." He deplored the tendency of the trade union movement toward "building high walls between each union, and fighting instead of solidifying the workers," and made this statement: "I question myself if we are on the right lines, if we are not follow-

ing the lines of greatest resistance."

Mosses advocated a union card that would be accepted by any union on the face of the earth; one that would finally result in the economic emancipation of the workers by abolishing the millionaire and his antithesis, the pauper.

Did this suit Mr. Gompers, vice-president of the Civic Federation, which has the multi-millionaire, August Belmont, for president?

The speech of the second English fraternal delegate, David Gilmore, was of the pure and simple type, except as to the organizing of independent political labor parties to work in the future for the emancipation of the working class.

The Canadian fraternal delegate next read a short address.

President Gompers, in answer to fraternal delegate Mosses, spoke of the obstacles to organization in the United States, and said that some organizations had a system of penalizing those who worked overtime; that the organization had almost abolished overtime.

This is something new; at any rate it does not pertain to the union machine, of whom your correspondent has an extensive knowledge in the Pittsburgh district, where the union man who kicks at overtime is the exception and not the rule.

A resolution favorable to the Pittsburgh "Dispatch" was adopted at 2 p. m.

Fifth Day's Session.

Pittsburg, Nov. 17.—The convention of the A. F. of L. was called to order at 9:30 a. m. and remained in session twenty-five minutes, receiving a telegram from Bryan's "Commoner," joining with others in inviting the next convention to Lincoln, Neb.; and hearing an article read from a paper, stating that an organization calling itself "The National Association of Stationary Engineers," was proposed to join "The Citizens' Industrial Alliance," and adjourned till 2 p. m.

The afternoon session was started by a discussion on labels, on which a lot of time was wasted. The universal label was advocated, in imitation of the I. W. W., but the Label Committee did not deem it wise to bother with a universal label until there was a more universal demand for the labels now in existence.

The whole matter was referred to the Executive Council.

To-day's session was practically a day lost.

The A. F. of L. will swallow the Frick donation. The revolutionary instinct of Johansen has been run into the ground for the time being, such being the mission of the A. F. of L.; and the very line of conduct that has brought the I. W. W. into existence.

"Get honest money, if you can, but if you can't, get money," is the motto of both church and the Gompers' trade union. The idea of Rockefeller contributing to the church, and Frick to the A. F. of L. is enough to disgust any one whose ethical development or knowledge of the labor movement has reached the stage where common ordinary horse sense is a factor.

Another instance deserving mention is the donation of George Oliver to the A. F. of L., which, of course, will be accepted, even though Mr. Oliver is the proprietor of one of the non-union daily papers that are in the combine to fight union labor in the Pittsburgh district. While not having the public notoriety of the Carnegie Company and Homestead, the Oliver Iron and Steel Company, of which George Oliver is a member, has waged a relentless war on organized labor long before the Carnegie Company gave the boot toe to unionism. Especially to the International Association of Machinists has the Oliver Company shown its contempt, kick after kick being given to the I. A. of M. so that today it is a sore spot to the rank and file of the organization.

There is quite a hustle going on for offices, as Kidd, fifth vice-president, has refused to be a candidate, and Spencer, eighth vice-president, will in all probability have to hustle to hold his job. To know and appreciate the desirability of having a steady job as a labor leader (?) it is only necessary to look at the aldermanic proportions of the waist coat dimensions of such men as Duncan, Morrison, Mitchell and Mahon; and Gompers himself is of no mean order. Quite different are these gentlemen and pets of the Civic Federation from the lean, lank, over-worked, cadaverous specimens that constitute the majority of the working class.

No wonder there is a hustle for the jobs.

Max Hayes' resolution endorsing the "Pittsburg Dispatch" should cause walling and gnashing of teeth on the inside, seeing that it caused the withdrawal of The Pittsburgh Publishers' Association's contribution of one thousand dollars to the convention.

Sixth Day's Session.

Pittsburg, Nov. 18.—The A. F. of L. convention this morning started business

with a resolution of sympathy for Russian sufferers "massacred by the insane masses" and appropriating \$1,000 for the victims. The committee on resolutions very properly substituted "massacred by the masses, incited by police and military authority," but failed to mention the gift of \$1,000.

Then came that moment which for years has been a terror to the A. F. of L. Have not the "Socialists," "the militant Socialists," the "borers from within" been making rapid progress in the A. F. of L.? Did they not the year before last get ten votes, and last year six, and this year intending to make a still more vigorous assault and maybe get two? Surely this will be a battle worth witnessing!

With stern face and majestic mien the chairman of the Resolution Committee held the paper in his hand (and Gompers was seen to take a tighter grip on the gavel) and read:

Resolution 131, by Victor Berger. This was a resolution for Congress to pension all those over sixty years of age, at twelve dollars a month, who had a continuous residence of twenty-one years in this country.

Here it was at last, the first shot of the "Socialist" gun. Would it hit?

The committee did not concur. A motion to adopt the committee's report was made and seconded. The chairman put the motion to the convention and called for remarks.

Now, certainly something would be doing, and every one waited with set faces for the onslaught of the valiant defenders of the world's toilers, who stood for the working class at all times and under all circumstances.

And they waited, and waited, and waited.

What: do they blanch at the helm, when the storm beats fiercest? Where is Berger; where is Barnes; where is "Mamie" Hayes?; where is any "borer from within" to come to the help of the victims of capitalism?

"He cometh not," the lips of Gompers seemed to say. Down came the gavel and "The motion is carried" sent the first shot from Berger's blunderbuss into the air.

Woe the poor oppressed proletariat who have such careless, weakened, cowardly derelicts to champion their cause!

In consecutive order, Resolution 130, on Government insurance in Germany; 137, on militia; 142, on industrialism; 147, on fraternal delegate to Germany—all by Berger—were all killed in short order, with never a word spoken in their support.

But the end was not yet; between Resolution 148 by Berger and the next of Berger's shots, several other matters were acted on, which gave Gompers time to call John B. Lennon to the chair, and enable Gompers to do business with the next Socialist resolution.

It was about this time that the heavy-weight "Socialist," the National Secretary of the "Socialist" party, J. Mahlon Barnes, was seen to pick up his overcoat and leave the hall; evidently things were becoming interesting; in fact, too interesting. Hayes taking a back track to Cleveland, Berger not in the hall and Gompers out of the chair ready to do business!

In all probability Berger and the New Orleans and San Francisco conventions loomed up on the horizon and the prospect of being used as a floor mop was too much for Barnes; at any rate he stood not on the order of his going, but got out at once, so that when the resolution committee called out Resolution 145, by Victor Berger, none of those who stood sponsor for it were in the hall.

Resolution 145 "looked with sorrow on the intimate relation of Gompers with the great capitalists on the Civic Federation," etc., etc.

Of course, the committee didn't concur and the convention adopted the committee's report.

This ended the fiasco for the day. Berger said afterward that he was sick in bed; this may be true, but in all probability what made him sick was the thought of what he would get if he were in the convention when those resolutions came up, as he appeared in the convention before it adjourned at 12:30 p. m.

Berger says he has four more resolutions to introduce or come up yet, but we shall see what we shall see.

Barnes and "Mamie" Hayes' conduct in running away is too disgustingly contemptible to comment upon.

Goldstein, of Waltham, Mass., made a motion to endorse Gompers' position relative to the Civic Federation, but it was not seconded.

As the Civic Federation resolution was not supported, Gompers said very little except that he was satisfied with his record and was content to not answer the resolution.

The convention then adjourned to 9 a. m. Monday.

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LETTER BOX

(Continued from page four.)

economic organization. The S. L. P., on the contrary, maintains that votes unbacked by proper economic organization, by the Might to enforce the Right and count the vote, are ineffective. When, accordingly, the vote of such a political body as the Volkszeitung Corporation party with its Morris Braun tickets collapses, the collapse has a significance that no S. L. P. loss of votes can have. In the former instance it is the case of a courtesan, who, having put on airs toward an honorable woman on the strength of the large number of her admirers, is left stripped of admirers and with her dishonor only; in the latter instance, it is the case of an honorable woman, who never gauged the power of her influence for decency by the number of her suitors.—There goes the other half of the bottom from under your reasoning that because the S. L. P. as well as the Morris Braun party lost heavily in votes at this election, therefore, the two are of the "same clay."

Your thinking powers seem to have improved not one inch beyond where they were thirteen years ago, when, with as bottomless "reasonings," you used to tee-hee at the S. L. P. for its Socialism, its class struggle policy, and its principle that the emancipation of the Working Class must be the achievement of the Working Class itself.

W. J. O. GOLDFIELD, NEV.—First. The S. L. P. man, if elected to office necessarily consults the organization before he takes action.

Second. Whoever says that the Editor of The People refuses to correct any charge that he makes, even if his error is proven to him, takes his facts from the air.

T. C. C. HOUSTON, TEX.—Arbitration! What is there to arbitrate between the Working Class and the Capitalist Class? Moreover, who is to be the arbitrator? Sixty odd years ago Adam Smith laid down the maxim: "Whenever the legislature attempts to regulate the differences between masters and their workmen, its counsellors are always the

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masters." Has it ever been otherwise? Did our Bishops Potter and Seth Lows belie the maxim? Or was the maxim belied by the Roosevelt Anthracite Commission into which noose John Mitchell caused the striking coal miners to put their necks? Shall we never learn from experience?

F. U. DETROIT, MICH.—First. The purpose of collecting the constitutions, etc., of Unions was to obtain a comprehensive idea of the mold in which they are cast. Some of these days you will see in The People some article directly upon the subject. Many an article, however, that has been appearing in The People could not have been as pithy without that collection being at hand.

Second. Such an article as you contemplate must be written by a member of the respective craft himself. Do write it.

I. L. ST. LOUIS, MO.—"Workingmen who go on strike pit empty bellies against full ones"—that's true. And suppose these same workmen carry the election and are treated as Hearst is treated—counted out, will the bellies be any fuller when they try to insist upon their rights? The moral of the story is here for Whig and Tory that the present form of economic organization is false, and that the political organization of labor, with such defective economic organization as a mate, is no better.

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